THE WORK OF THE COUNSELOR

LEONA E. TYLER

The Work of the Counselor

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TO

MY FATHER

Preface

We might paraphrase a famous quotation and say, "Some are born counselors; some achieve counseling; and some have counseling thrust upon them." In a single educational system we may have all three kinds of workers. Some counselors are former teachers whose natural sympathy for the joys and struggles of students seems to fit them uniquely for this work. Some have undergone a carefully planned series of courses designed to equip them for it. Others are listed on the school records as part-time counselors only because they have a willing spirit and a vacant period. In other settings where counseling occurs—in industry, religious institutions, and social agencies—we find the same diversity in background and training.

I have had all these kinds of counselors more or less in mind as I wrote this book. Primarily it is for psychology students, a text for a first course in counseling procedures, and primarily it is for persons expecting to work in colleges or high schools. However, I have tried to make it broad enough to meet at least some of the needs of high school teachers who enroll for summer courses and workshops in order to obtain help with work they are already doing as best they can, and of men and women from many other walks of life who find that counseling makes up some part of their daily tasks. The book is written from the point of view of the general counselor who attempts to help clients with a variety of different problems rather than from that of the specialist in vocational guidance, marriage counseling, or psychotherapy.

I have tried to stress common principles underlying many types of counseling activity rather than to outline special methods for each.

What these basic principles are can be briefly stated here. First, counseling is more a matter of what one perceives or comprehends than it is of what one says or does. No book can give one this sensitivity, but it can help one *practice* it by telling him something about what to look for, how to listen, and how to make use of all available aids to understanding. Second, success in counseling depends more upon personal qualities in the counselor than upon correct use of specified techniques. Warmth, responsiveness, and sincerity are essential. No book can give one these things, but it can help him to know how to express and manifest them. Third, there are individual differences in what counselors do and in how clients respond, so that every interview is actually a unique experience. We cannot really standardize procedures, and we can never be sure either that two counselors are using the same methods or that two clients are being treated in the same way.

By organizing my thinking around the twin ideas of unity of attitude and aim and diversity of word and action, I hope I have avoided the necessity for controversy over the directive/non-directive issue. To me the principal value of the non-directive movement has been to make us all very much more aware of the subtle psychological realities in each counseling situation. This awareness is as important in all other kinds of counseling as it is in psychotherapy and should be stressed in training men and women for such work regardless of what their specific duties are to be.

The illustrations and case material I have used are to be taken as *samples* of ways of meeting certain situations rather than as models to be followed. I have used free adaptations of cases drawn from my experience rather than verbatim records. This

was partly in order to sidestep difficulties relating to the publication of confidential material and partly in order to achieve precision in illustrating points under discussion. Enough verbatim case material is now available in other books so that it did not seem necessary to include more of it here. It is assumed that the student in the course of his training will have access to such published material as well as to recorded interviews. In this book examples are to be read as *fiction,* but fiction bearing the same sort of relationship to fact as an autobiographical novel bears to the writer's life. Any of my clients who recognize some of their lives in these cases will know that the resemblance is not merely coincidental but also that the person described is not really any one single individual. Obviously such material cannot be used as evidence in connection with any theoretical issue.

A further word needs to be said in explanation of the research summaries. Since counseling is still to a large extent an art, dependent more on shared experience than on reported experiments, it was more natural and seemed somehow more honest to organize the body of each chapter in terms of what we have come to think and do rather than in terms of research evidence, scanty as it is in many areas. Our counseling practices do not in fact rest primarily on this evidence but on other bases entirely. But it seems to me very important that we do shift over as rapidly as we can to the use of dependable evidence rather than custom and intuition as a basis for judgments as to how counseling should be done. Therefore I have tried at the end of each chapter to summarize all the research material I could find and to evaluate its significance. I attempted to make a thorough survey of the literature of the last thirty years in this and related areas and then to sift out just those reports that presented *data* giving evidence for something rather than just an idea or a point of view. The project was perhaps somewhat over-ambitious, and I am not at all certain that I found all relevant material. The coverage is most satisfac-

tory on those topics most directly tied in with counseling. On such subjects, for example, as the evaluation of non-directive psychotherapy and the contribution of tests to vocational guidance, I am confident that practically everything published through 1952 has been included. On topics intermediate between counseling and other fields such as psychiatric diagnosis and therapy, general interview methods, and the uses of cumulative records, I have probably missed some things which might well have been included. Trying to put together these summaries has made me realize the many directions in which counseling spreads out and the vagueness of some of its boundaries. In spite of these limitations I still hope that the research summaries and bibliography will be a help to students desiring to do research on counseling problems and to practicing counselors trying to distinguish between things we do simply because they seem to work well and things we do because of some definite research evidence.

It would be impossible to list all the people to whom I am indebted for ideas expressed in this book. Names that stand out are those of Donald G. Paterson and John G. Darley who started me out on this fascinating pursuit and saw me through the development of the basic concepts to which all later ideas have been grafted. My University of Oregon colleagues, especially Howard R. Taylor and Robert Leeper in the Psychology Department and Spencer Carlson in the Counseling Center, have discussed many of these ideas with me again and again. It will be apparent that I owe much to the published work of Carl R. Rogers and his associates in the non-directive movement. Above all, I should like to thank my clients over the years. Their willingness to share their lives with me has been one of the major sources of whatever wisdom I possess.

L. E. T.

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I

The Counselor's Function in Modern Society

In one sense, counseling is as old as man's experience; in another, it is new in our century. Down through the years men have always found that when they have difficult and important decisions to make they can clarify their thinking by talking the problems over with friends whom they trust and respect. Whenever they have been deeply troubled they have found that sympathy and understanding make it easier to face these troubles courageously. Parents, ministers, physicians, teachers, and lawyers all know what it is to serve as counselors. The thing that is new in our time is the development of a counseling *profession.* It is only recently that it has been possible for a person to decide to devote his whole time and energy to this kind of service and to earn his living in this way.

Counseling at present is not really a profession, but it is in the process of becoming one. In their professional societies counselors are now struggling with problems faced generations ago by doctors and lawyers. Standards of competence, and training programs designed to produce such competence, are being developed. Large numbers of young people see this work as an attractive possibility and still larger numbers of men and women whose work in the

public schools has become more and more centered around counseling are trying to get the extra training these activities demand.

There is still considerable disagreement as to the need for such a separate profession. Many school superintendents hold that counseling can best be done by teachers themselves as a part of their regular classroom work. Many parents feels that it is they who should give their sons and daughters the help they need in making life decisions. Many people in all walks of life still are convinced that seeking psychological help of any sort is a sign of weakness.

However, in spite of these doubts and dissenting votes, demand for counseling services is constantly increasing. Colleges and high schools, industries and churches are becoming more and more interested in what this new profession has to offer. It would seem that there must be strong influences propelling us in this direction. Can we identify any of them?

The first thing to impress us when we survey the modern scene is the tremendous complexity of the situation each individual faces. It was in connection with occupational choice that this complexity first began to create a demand for specially trained counselors. It is obvious that a young person who tries to choose intelligently from among the 40,000 or more separate occupations that have been identified faces no easy task. It is of course true that no one individual ever considers all 40,000, counseling or no counseling. But if he is left to his own devices he will probably make his choice from among the three or four that are most familiar or most convenient, and there are more and more men and women who have come to feel that the results of choices made in this way are not satisfactory. Bill Penfield, for example, gets a job in a men's clothing store after he graduates from high school. It is the easiest thing to do, since he has been working there part time during his last two school years and the manager is a friend of his family. Twenty years later, with financial responsibilities that

now rule out any possibility of a drastic change of plans, he is still doubtful as to whether he might not have been happier as a surveyor or geologist. He adapts himself without too much discontent to the pattern his life has taken, but he wishes to be sure that his son has broader opportunities than he had. Peter Jensen goes to a good college and eventually takes his expected place in his father's law office, but he never quite frees himself from a feeling that he has missed something along the way—that this is not really the role in life he would have chosen had he thought the matter through. Consequently he uses his influence on the school board to make sure that adequate vocational counseling facilities are made available to the boys and girls of the community.

It is the combination of an extremely diversified industrial society with democratic ideals and attitudes that makes counseling necessary. Although often denied in practice, the principle that any individual has a right to fill any position for which he can qualify is a basic premise in our democratic thinking. The most reactionary of us would hardly be willing to advocate that only the children of professional men be admitted to professional schools or that children of unskilled laborers should invariably be shunted into unskilled jobs. We believe that it is the individual's right, or even his duty, to improve his position and achieve as much as possible. These attitudes are a part of the cultural heritage that each child internalizes, i.e. automatically adopts as his own set of values. They constitute subtle but strong determiners of his vocational ambitions. It is because the complexity is a matter of attitudes as well as situation that no simple means of disseminating occupational information and giving aptitude tests can possibly meet the need for counseling. A boy of sixteen may be handed a test profile that makes perfectly clear what his pattern of abilities is like, and be informed about occupations in which such abilities are most applicable, and yet be totally unable to grasp the significance of these facts because of the network of

ambitions, family expectations, and self-doubts in which he is enmeshed. It is more than information that he needs; it is wise counseling.

We see the effects of these American attitudes and the problems they create for American adolescents especially in our high schools and colleges. The tremendous increase in enrollment at these institutions during the last fifty years is a matter of common knowledge. Many factors have combined to channel such a large proportion of our boys and girls, young men and young women, through educational institutions. Compulsory education laws now in most states require attendance until the age of sixteen, in some places even until eighteen. These laws, in turn, reflect various social factors—the wish to keep young people off the labor market, the conviction that democratic government requires an intelligent body of voters, the faith in education as a vehicle for social and individual advancement.

Whatever the reasons, the presence of so many young people from such diverse backgrounds in our schools and colleges has made the need for counseling very apparent. The individual must find his way around in a complicated curriculum and somehow select those courses that will be of most value for his particular life pattern. But to do this he must *have* a life pattern, and many things make it difficult for him to develop one. Conflicts between the attitudes and standards of his home and those he encounters in classmates from very different types of families make it hard for him to know just where he himself stands. The necessity for making his place in the social and extra-curricular life of his school and at the same time keeping up with its intellectual activities often causes him trouble. Deficiencies he finds in himself, in reading or mathematics, social skills or personal appearance, must either be remedied directly or hedged in by those elaborate and often curious systems of defenses which make them tolerable.

Thus it seems reasonable to suppose that the development of

a counseling profession has come about partly as a result of the sheer complexity of modern life, especially as it confronts the adolescent boy and girl. A parent, teacher, or friend finds it less easy to realize this complexity and its impact on the individual than does the counselor, whose special training and experience has accustomed him to look at the whole picture.

There is another feature of present-day society which seems to be leading to the development of a counseling profession. It is the instability generated by the rapid changes that have been occurring in our ways of life. Sociologists as well as poets have labeled this an "age of anxiety." Various writers have called attention to all sorts of factors creating insecurity in the individual, factors ranging all the way from broken homes to the threat of atomic annihilation. It is true that it would be very difficult to prove that this age is more anxious than previous periods. There are no statistics which permit us to compare the incidence of even the major psychoses from century to century, and it is even more impossible to gauge the comparative frequencies of neuroses and the lesser varieties of disequilibrium. Nevertheless, in the books we write and the pictures we paint there is much to suggest that the prevailing mood of our time is one of uncertainty and apprehension.

The most serious of the social instabilities for the individual, if the conclusions of psychiatrists and other mental health workers are sound, is the threat to the family. Among the clients who come to a counselor with personal problems a very considerable proportion are children of divorced parents. Sometime during their childhood, long before emotional growth was completed, they have been confronted with problems of conflicting loyalties that would have strained even the capacities of maturity. The counseling process constitutes for them a new opportunity to think the whole thing through and assimilate the experience and its consequences in their later development.

If divorce itself were the only problem, however, our task

would be considerably easier than it is. It is the emotional conflicts that lie back of the break-up rather than the separation itself which unsettle children. Naturally not all persons seeking psychotherapy are the products of divorce, but most if not all of them reflect in their attitudes the strains to which their childhood homes were subject. For every marriage that ends in the divorce courts there are probably several more which generate tensions almost as severe. Children in these homes have had to learn to cope with bitterness, hatred, neglect, and confusion, and to put up some sort of defenses against the anxiety such attitudes bring.

It goes without saying that social problems are not to be solved by counseling alone. Many agencies and organizations are concerned with the family and are attempting to improve an unsatisfactory situation there. To the extent that long-range educational programs aimed at improving family relations succeed, counseling to ameliorate the effects of bad family situations will become less necessary. For the present, however, home difficulties are a major source of problems for workers in three types of setting. Child guidance clinics are attempting to help the children themselves at the time when their problems are most acute. Marriage counselors have developed a specialized service for men and women who wish to try to salvage their relationship rather than to break it off. General counseling agencies in schools, even when their principal function is to help students make good educational and vocational choices, also help individuals to understand and modify emotional attitudes that have grown out of home environments.

Many other social problems growing out of the conditions of our times are reflected in the insecurity felt by individuals. There is the ever-present threat of war and the possibility of ever-more-serious consequences that accompany technological improvements in weapons. The cold war with its necessity for constant vigilance against dangers that are never too clearly defined brings its own

strains. There is always the threat of unemployment in an economic system where a man has no control over his own job. There are the anxieties that arise from the necessity for competition and the emphasis on success in our society.

It is an interesting fact, however, that it is the lesser threats and uncertainties arising from these social problems, rather than the problems themselves, which are most disturbing. The possibility of sudden death and destruction does not seem to produce as much anxiety as do the minor worries about one's own immediate future. Will I be drafted this year or not? Shall I enlist now or wait? What good will it do me to study this term if I am not going to be allowed to finish my education anyway? It is in the shape of such questions that the troubled international situation makes its impact on the individual. Will I ever be able to get my grades up high enough so that I will be admitted to Medical School? How can we keep up our Country Club membership and the social activities that go with it unless I can make more money? How can I ever face mother if her sorority doesn't pledge me? How can I get over my "inferiority complex"? Wherever I go I never feel as good as other people. It is such problems that our competitive economic and social system raises for each person. They may seem trivial by comparison with the larger social issues, but they are the stuff of which individual human experience is made.

Still another factor that seems to be involved in the growing need for counseling services in our time is the crumbling away of the old certainties. A great many people no longer have the religious anchors that used to hold them steady in times of crisis. Various political and economic theories compete for men's loyalties. The development of communication to its present level has made it harder for a man to retreat into some little shell of orthodoxy which can shield him from conflicting winds of doctrine. This is more than a superficial state of affairs. A century ago

Matthew Arnold wrote the famous lines [1] delineating a feeling that was to grow ever more widespread as time passed:

> Ah, love, let us be true
> To one another! for the world, which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams,
> So various, so beautiful, so new,
> Hath really neither joy, nor love nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
> And we are here as on a darkling plain
> Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
> Where ignorant armies clash by night.

In our own time, Robinson Jeffers [2] expresses the same realization of lost certainty:

> Have men's minds changed
> Or the rock hidden in the deep of the waters of the soul
> Broken the surface? A few centuries
> Gone by, was none dared not to people
> The darkness beyond the stars with harps and habitations.
> But now, dear is the truth. Life is grown sweeter and lonelier
> And death is no evil.

Many more passages from poems, plays, and novels of our century could be assembled, describing a feeling that counselors will have encountered in many of their clients. Not all, it is true, react to the prevailing uncertainty in this way. Many try to lay hold of something which they will almost arbitrarily accept as true. Witness the proliferation of fundamentalist religious sects, the fanatical loyalty of Communist party members, and the rigid and intolerant varieties of patriotism and nationalism which flourish in our time. What we can easily lose sight of is the psychological fact that a faith desperately grasped and maintained as a way out of chaos and a simple faith that has never been threatened are really very different things. There is a defensiveness about these rigid, last-stand orthodoxies that enables us to recognize them as

[1] Matthew Arnold, *Dover Beach.* In (167).
[2] Robinson Jeffers, *Night.* In (167).

symptoms of the underlying anxiety rather than as genuine solutions. Thus, whether an individual is troubled by uncertainty or trying to defend himself against it, he may want the help which counseling may bring.

It is in the relatively calm, non-threatening counseling atmosphere that such a person is most likely to be able to face confusions courageously, to sort out from the ideals and values he has been exposed to the ones which are valid for him, and thus to come out with a workable philosophy of life. It is a significant fact that churchmen sensitive to the needs of their congregations are beginning to stress counseling as a supplement to preaching, which has hitherto been their principal method for dispelling doubt and confusion. Pastoral counseling is a flourishing new field of specialization and each year many ministers are being trained in psychological techniques to enable them to serve in this way.

Whether or not he has specialized in this area, any counselor is often confronted with the ferment produced by conflicting values and beliefs. Problems of vocational choice, simple on the surface, often turn out to be rooted in just such conflicts. A boy with all his aptitudes pointing toward a successful career in accounting may be unable to settle on this objective because he is in revolt against his conception of the business man's philosophy. A girl's determination to be an artist, although she has been repeatedly discouraged and told that she has only mediocre talents, may represent an attempt to achieve a way of life in harmony with her philosophy. Since these are highly individual problems, only the individualized techniques of counseling are adequate to deal with them. Listening to lectures and sermons or reading books about other people's philosophies does not accomplish the same purpose.

It might be noted in passing that the very fact that he witnesses the resolution of such difficulties and the working out of strong, satisfying patterns of faith and conduct makes the counselor less

pessimistic than many writers and thinkers are about the chaos in our values and our lack of a unifying philosophy. He knows that human individuals have the capacity to face confusion and organize it in meaningful ways. That, after all, is the most important consideration.

These, then, are some of the social trends that create a need for counseling services: the complexity of our social and economic system, our democratic ideals, the anxiety that arises from rapid changes in basic institutions, and the loss of a unifying religion or philosophy. At the same time that these changes have been occurring, other changes in our ways of living have been making it less and less likely that non-scheduled, informal counseling will take care of the needs. We have been increasingly becoming an urban people. In a large city there is very little of the genuine interest in neighbors' affairs that we find in small towns. Many young men and women have moved to the city primarily to free themselves from undue prying into their affairs. Once there, however, they find that they have shifted from one extreme to the other, and that to have no-one taking any interest whatever in one's thoughts and problems is fully as uncomfortable as to have someone taking too much interest in them. Urban life is less likely than village life to supply an individual with an understanding old uncle, a family doctor or minister, or a teacher who has known him from babyhood. The sort of influence such people represent is something which is seldom noticed while it is present, but its complete absence leaves a basic need unmet.

Similarly, the shift toward small families makes incidental counseling harder to obtain. In the case of an adolescent boy or girl, there is no longer likely to be in his immediate vicinity a person whose relationship has the right combination of sincere interest and neutral objectivity to make for good counseling. His father or mother, or his brother or sister only slightly older than himself, is too close to him, too emotionally involved in his

behavior, to serve in this particular capacity. No longer does the typical household include grandfathers and grandmothers, relatives, guests, trusted servants, and other miscellaneous persons. The outer circle has disappeared, and no matter how well-intentioned those in the inner circle may be they cannot carry out the counseling function very successfully. The reasons for this will become more apparent as we describe in more detail in later chapters what the counseling function is.

Along with the need for counseling service, an increased respect for workers in professional psychological fields has been developing in America. To clarify the reasons for this change in public attitudes would be a research problem of considerable interest. Partly it seems to be a function of the advances that have been made in the sciences having to do with human relations. Before Freud, the principal business of psychiatrists was the care of patients whose condition was so serious that little improvement could be expected. With the development of psychoanalytic theory and practice and other personality theories and types of therapy indirectly related to psychoanalysis, emphasis has been shifted from the psychotic to the neurotic. Thus many unhappy individuals who, had they been living a century ago, would have resigned themselves to living with their unhappiness now take it for granted that help is available. The acceptance that has been won by many psychiatric movies, good and bad, testifies to this development in public opinion. In psychology, methods of studying the characteristics of the *individual* rather than human nature in the abstract have impressed themselves upon people's attention. The widespread use of intelligence tests began with the first world war. Within the next twenty-year period dozens of special aptitude and achievement tests were made available. World War II stimulated the intensive cultivation of clinical methods for investigating complex and subtle trends in the personality. Readers of popular magazines are told that it is now quite possible

for a competent psychologist to discover in a person talents and interests, attitudes and adjustment patterns, that otherwise he would never have known that he possessed. While it is probably true that both psychiatry and psychology have been oversold to the public in recent years, still there is in actual achievement in both fields a solid basis for the new respect that they are commanding.

As with all changes in public opinion, this shift has been a gradual process and is far from complete as yet. There is still a strong belief held by a considerable number of American people that to consult anyone about psychological problems is a confession of weakness. This feeling seems to be a by-product of our loyalty to some of our most highly prized values—courage, independence, and normality. Again and again it becomes evident in counseling situations.

"I feel awfully embarrassed about coming in to see you. A person shouldn't have to ask for help about anything like this. He should be able to settle his own life for himself."

"I don't know what's the matter with me that I can't decide what I want to do. I must be neurotic or something."

"My friend Edna suggested six months ago that I come up to the Counseling Center and talk it over with you but I just didn't want to do it. I was determined to handle it myself."

"How do you get someone to go to see a counselor when you're sure he needs help but he won't take the suggestion. My sister just gets mad when I mention psychologists to her."

The attitudes represented by such statements are a real obstacle preventing counseling from contributing as much as it otherwise might to the smooth functioning of society. For one thing, they often deter an individual from working out any fundamental solution to a personality problem until that problem becomes so large as to be almost insoluble. Mrs. Lewis, for example, realizes that her marriage is far from satisfactory. She has vague feelings

of guilt about the matter but gets rid of them in various ways—by blaming her husband for superficial faults, by keeping frantically busy with social affairs, and finally by deciding to have a child. Things go from bad to worse. When the child is three years old she divorces Mr. Lewis and marries Mr. Harvey. After a year or two the new marriage begins to take on a pattern of bickering and unhappiness similar to the old one. By this time little Jerry has developed a number of serious behavior problems in response to the strain and another baby is on the way. By now, Mrs. Harvey is ready to accept a friend's advice and seek psychotherapy, but in the meantime a whole circle of people has been brought into the picture whose lives need not have been affected in this adverse way had her attitudes permitted her to accept help sooner.

Sometimes a maladjusted person never reaches the stage where he can accept counseling. He may manage to go on without it, but carry for the rest of his life a load of anxiety which he might have dispensed with. Henry Ralston is a student of high academic ability who is caught in a vicious circle of poor grades, worry over the record he is making, inability to concentrate because of the worry, and habits of social activity and excessive drinking that help him dispel or deaden the anxiety. These habits mean that he misses more and more classes and gets poorer and poorer grades. Thus the spiral continues. Because Henry is unable to admit that there is anything fundamentally wrong, he saddles himself with a burden he will never completely shake off. The "problem" eventually solves itself. His grades drop so low that the authorities disqualify him from continuing in college. He gets a job and attempts to forget the whole thing, but he never completely loses a sense of guilt over his lost opportunities and a disquieting sense that all is not well with anyone who acted in such an irrational, self-defeating way.

Until we know more about ways of changing deep-seated atti-

tudes and prejudices, workers in the psychological professions will often be saddened by their contacts with persons who cannot accept help. However, as we have said, there is some evidence that antagonistic attitudes toward counseling are less strong than they once were. Many individuals who hold them now carry along with them enough hope to enable them at least to try psychological treatment for a little while. If the first interview is satisfactory, another circular process comes into operation. Gradually the person who starts counseling with strong negative feelings comes to see the relationship as something which in no way threatens his independence or personal integrity. His new attitude communicates itself to others in his circle of friends. Thus several others may be brought within the orbit of counseling service. Some such process probably lies behind the very rapid growth in the demand for psychological workers. It is the sort of process that must be encouraged and fostered if psychology is to realize its possibilities for human service.

Along with the development of a counseling profession has come intensive study of the counseling process itself. How does it work? In this interaction of two people, which are the aspects that are significant in producing change? What, exactly, is it about the person that changes? Much of the rest of this book will have to do with such problems, but the important principles can be summed up here.

In the first place, counseling is more than advice-giving. This, perhaps, is the most important generalization of all about the process, especially since men and women doing incidental counseling as part of their work in home, school, or factory usually think of the two terms *counseling* and *advising* as synonymous. Progress comes through the thinking that the individual with a problem does for himself rather than through solutions suggested by the counselor. The counselor's function is to make that kind of thinking possible rather than to do it himself. Even in cases

where a man attributes his success to the advice given him at a crucial time by a relative or trusted friend, it is quite possible that other features of the relationship between them were more important than the advice itself.

In the second place, counseling involves something more than the solution to an immediate problem. Its function is to produce changes in the individual that will enable him to make wise future decisions as well as to extricate himself from his immediate difficulties. If a college student has been unable to decide between medicine and law as occupational objectives and a counselor helps him to evaluate all the relevant factors, to understand how he feels about them, and to map out a clear course for himself, he is not at the end of the experience just the same person *plus* a sound vocational choice. The pattern of his life has been altered, and his whole approach to subsequent choice situations will be different because he has made this decision this way. A woman who consults a counselor hoping to get rid of an irrational fear of the dark cannot be relieved of the fear and keep the rest of her present personality organization intact. Counseling inevitably involves thinking about many things, not simply the one uppermost in the client's mind at the beginning.

In the third place, counseling concerns itself with attitudes rather than with actions. Actions will change as it progresses, but as a result of attitude change. To illustrate, a high school girl may report to her counselor that she is troubled by extreme shyness, especially in the presence of boys. One way of responding to such a statement of a problem would be to suggest immediately that she get more social experience, that she go to the next school dance and force herself to participate. Such a suggestion, at this stage at least, is not counseling in the sense in which the word is being used in this book. Counseling calls rather for an exploration of the attitudes behind this shyness. How are they related to feelings about other things and about people? What are her relationships

with other members of her family? What are her feelings about sex? What are her plans for the future? It is not that a skillful counselor would ask questions like these, but an atmosphere would be created in which the girl would feel like talking about these or any other attitudes that seemed important to her. Through the counseling process the attitudes making it impossible for her to engage in social activities would be modified enough so that she would be willing to try once more. Obviously this is not the only method—perhaps not in all cases the best one—for improving the social adjustment of the shy adolescent. The point here is that more direct attacks on the problem behavior itself are something other than counseling.

In the fourth place, it is emotional rather than purely intellectual attitudes which are the raw material of the counseling process. Perhaps there is really no such thing as a purely intellectual attitude. Many people, however, think that there is. It happens very frequently that a college student, torn by emotional conflicts, will try to reach a solution by taking psychology courses and reading books on psychiatry. It is a bitterly disappointing experience when such a person finds that what he calls insight does not relieve the emotional pressure. He knows, or thinks he knows, why he feels guilty. He understands, or thinks he understands, the defense mechanisms he has developed. He tries to impress his friends by talking glibly of projections, rationalizations, and schizoid trends. But essentially he is still an unhappy, unsettled, anxious individual. All he has succeeded in doing is to attach labels to the feelings. They are still there, unchanged. Counseling concerns itself primarily with these feelings, whether the person's problem is one of vocational choice, a crippling sense of inferiority, or trouble with his teachers. Information and intellectual understanding have their place in the counseling situation, but the emotionalized feelings are never ignored.

Finally, counseling inevitably involves relationships between

people, although it may seem to be purely an affair of the one individual who is undergoing it. One of the things hardest for the client to understand is why the thinking he does in the counseling room changes his life more than the thinking he does by himself at home. He realizes that it is the relationship with the counselor that makes the difference. Once he has learned this, that the relationship between two people is something different from the sum of the separate contributions they make to it, he has grasped something which will bring many other changes in its wake. His relationships with other persons to whom he is bound in various ways take on new meaning. It is because of the importance of this principle that recent writers on the counseling process are stressing relationships rather than techniques, the general structure of the situation rather than specific rules about what to do and say. This too will be taken up in more detail later.

After this brief survey of factors leading to the development of a counseling profession, and this brief outline of what counseling is and does, perhaps we may be permitted to look ahead and try to assess the possible contributions which the full development of this new asset might make to our society. The first benefit we might expect to derive is obviously an increase in the effectiveness with which individual men and women handle their own lives. In the intricate social machine we have developed, counseling may come to serve as the essential lubricant, preventing the development of frictions that would seriously impair its operations. Some such lubricant seems to be needed. Considerable evidence has been accumulating, for example, that labor difficulties are as much psychological as economic problems, and that changed attitudes in individuals bring solutions to apparently insoluble conflicts. In connection with family problems we are learning that if marriage counseling can be available at the times when men and women need it, the friction that would otherwise lead to a breakdown can often be diminished so that the relationship

can function smoothly. School authorities would probably agree that it will never be possible to organize curriculum and activities in such a way that they fit all children and produce uniformly harmonious relationships between student and teacher, student and student, and teacher and teacher. But in hundreds of communities the addition of counseling to the school's facilities has made a moderately good organization function exceedingly well.

The machine analogy, however, carries us only so far. It is not really adequate to describe the possibilities counseling suggests. Human beings are not cogs or gear wheels, and society is not a machine. The really important thing about people is that they can grow and change and thus work out *new* relationships between themselves and their environments, physical and social. A mechanic who is operating at his highest capacity may invent a new industrial process or change the whole pattern of labor union activity in his area. The student or teacher who is alert to all the possibilities of his world will not simply adjust himself to the school situation but will change it in constructive ways. Looked at in this way, the real value of counseling may be its contribution toward initiating and maintaining healthy growth in the social organism rather than toward preserving it in its present form.

It is also becoming clear that many of the factors we can observe and study in the two-person social relationship of the counseling office can be generalized to other social relationships taking in larger numbers of people. The tremendous possibilities in this area are just beginning to be explored. Group therapy has made rapid strides since it was discovered that the same sort of acceptance and mutual confidence that characterize the relationship between therapist and patient can be developed within a group of individuals with similar problems. Discussion groups in and out of schools are attempting to carry over some of the attitudes that characterize counseling at its best into situations where sev-

eral people are engaged in a common task. It is not altogether fantastic to hope that eventually even international conferences which lead to decisions involving millions of lives may proceed more smoothly and creatively because of what we have learned about human relationships in counseling situations.

One of the commonest questions asked of a counselor by a client who has come through a series of counseling interviews and achieved a set of attitudes toward himself and others upon which satisfying and constructive living can be based is, "Don't you get tired of listening to people's troubles hour after hour, day after day? Isn't it depressing to be involved in so many unhappy situations so much of the time?"

The counselor finds himself answering "No." But if he were pushed to explain just why such discouragement does not arise, or at least does not become overpowering, he might find it difficult to analyze the reasons. It is partly, of course, that the clients whom he comes to know so well do improve and do in unforseen ways extricate themselves from their difficulties. Thus he comes to focus his perceptions on the direction in which the individual is moving rather than on the apparent hopelessness of his present condition. Still more vital to the counselor's attitude, probably, is the conviction perhaps only vaguely formulated, that what is taking place is related somehow to the whole broad field of human relations. Counseling is more than remedial work, more than therapy, more than an aid in the making of decisions. It represents a way in which people can work together to understand our common human life and at the same time try to enrich it. At its best it is science devoid of coldness, faith not dependent on mysticism.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

There is very little actual research evidence as to the need for counseling service in our society, but occasionally such information is

obtained almost by accident. A paper by Ginsburg (61) is the most striking example. He reports what happened when in 1947 a man wrote to Mary Haworth, the author of a syndicated newspaper column, asking where he could get psychiatric help. Her reply was a rather hasty and ill-advised diagnosis along with the suggestion that he write to Dr. George S. Stevenson, Medical Director of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The significant thing about the incident was that following the newspaper publication of this advice the National Committee for Mental Hygiene received more than 2,000 letters. They came from forty-four of the forty-eight states and from Puerto Rico, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hawaii. Their writers included persons with all sorts of neurotic and psychotic symptoms, pregnant unmarried girls, unhappily married couples, and individuals with educational and vocational problems.

Where students in colleges have been asked what counseling services they would like to have available, the majority have indicated need for some such services. Stump (155) asked entering freshmen at Keuka College to fill out a questionnaire. Each of the ten items listed as possible counseling services was checked frequently, and 50 per cent of the group were interested in all of them. Sageser (131) reports a similar study on a much larger number of students. He sent a questionnaire to 1,212 students in eight institutions. Only 4 out of the total number expressed no need for counseling. Three-fourths of them desired help with academic problems, one-half with vocational problems, and one-tenth with psychological or psychiatric problems. The fact that he obtained only a 41 per cent return of questionnaires leaves some doubt about non-respondents, but the proportions cited for those who did reply constitute a considerable fraction even of the total group.

There have been several studies analyzing the problems and characteristics of students who do make use of a counseling service. Williamson and Bordin (176) examined case records of 2,053 students who received counseling at the University Testing Bureau, University of Minnesota, during the period 1932–35. About two-thirds of the problems presented were vocational or educational. Problems of the

social-emotional-personal variety were next most frequent. Students who sought counseling on their own initiative averaged higher in high school achievement and college aptitude test score than those who were referred by members of the university staff. In another University of Minnesota study Schneidler and Berdie (133) showed that counseled students did not differ from the student body as a whole in high school scholarship, college aptitude test scores, and achievement and personality test scores. Baller (11) reports some figures for 1942–43 from the University of Nebraska which show that freshmen who consulted the guidance office were above average in ability. For those with educational-vocational problems, grades for the year did not fall below what would have been predicted from their aptitude tests. For the personal problem group, grades were slightly low. What these studies all show is that counseling is needed and utilized by students at all ability levels, not just by the inadequate.

What type of problem predominates seems to depend on how the program is organized. The University of Minnesota studies, as indicated above, show that vocational and educational problems turn up most frequently. Another study at the same institution reported by Darley and Williams (39) analyzed case records from the General College, a two-year college primarily for low-ability students. Educational problems ranked highest for both men and women, but there were sex differences as to what came next. For men vocational problems were second and personal-social-emotional problems third. For women this order was reversed. McKinney (103), reporting from the University of Missouri where counseling is given by a Personality Clinic, stated that the majority of the problems with which students came were social, motivational, or emotional, only 12 per cent falling in the academic classification. About two-thirds of the clients had more than one problem. This report, like those from Minnesota, indicates that the counseled group included all kinds of students and was average in academic ability. They were somewhat more likely than the average to be young, to be women, and to be from cities rather than small towns.

High school guidance workers will be interested in examining the

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detailed report by Dugan (46) showing how a counselor's time is spent, but it is of less relevance to the question we are considering as to what counseling services are needed. In a still different direction is Friedenberg's description of a measuring instrument designed to get at student conceptions of the role of a college advisory system (55). It constitutes a tool for further research rather than research evidence.

Evaluation. The principal conclusion to be drawn from these scattered studies is that research on the basic questions of how much and what kind of counseling service our society can use is badly needed. About all that we can glean from the few available reports is the fact that where counseling services have been provided, large numbers of clients broadly representative of the population served have shown up to take advantage of them. The relative frequency of different types of problem seems to depend more upon the amount of emphasis placed by the counseling agencies on different things than upon the frequency of various difficulties in life situations.

II

The Counseling Interview

At the very heart of the counseling process is the interview. Whether it is fifteen or ninety minutes long, whether the participants explore feelings or discuss facts and schedules, whether or not it is supplemented by test scores and information from the files —whatever changes counseling brings are related most closely to the way this time is spent. The would-be counselor should direct his attention first to this most indispensable skill. He cannot begin too soon to develop it, yet he will find that its development is never complete. After a lifetime of experience he will still be sharpening his perceptions of what occurs during an interview and increasing his capacity to communicate what he perceives.

The essential foundations upon which interviewing rests are understanding and acceptance. The counselor must genuinely feel these things and be able to get them across to the person being interviewed. The three aspects, understanding, acceptance, and communication, are so inextricably bound up together in the counseling process that it is only for the purpose of talking about them that we can single out one at a time. They cannot be separately practiced or learned, and it is inconceivable that a competent counselor could ever be rated high on one and low on the others.

While these qualities are important in any counseling interview, we shall be concerned in this chapter primarily with their

manifestation in the *first* of a series of contacts or in a single interview. Later chapters will discuss special features of later sessions. There is obviously a chronological basis for beginning this way, but there are other reasons as well. A great many counselors, especially at the high school level, are restricted quite largely to single-interview counseling. In the common school situation where one staff member is responsible for two hundred or more students there can be only a few whom he sees more than once during the academic year. There is no reason, however, why one thirty-minute interview cannot be counseling in the truest sense of the word. If it is, those who need more than this will feel free to come back. Counselors who work for industrial concerns or social agencies may also find in their work a preponderance of single-interview contacts.

In all counseling the first interview occupies a crucial position. It is likely to be more difficult for the counselor than any later interview in a series because there is not much that he can do to "get set" for it beforehand. He must be prepared for anything, or almost anything. (In school counseling, good cumulative records do help to some extent in preparing for an interview. We shall consider them in the next chapter.) In this first hour, some kind of relationship must be established. Out of this meeting the client must get something that will make him willing to come back and to put forth the further effort that is required. When this first hour begins, counselor and counselee are strangers; when it ends they must have formed some sort of partnership.

Of the two underlying attitudes we have stressed, acceptance is more fundamental at the beginning than understanding and must somehow be communicated first. This is because the people with whom we are dealing are likely to have mixed feelings about being understood. They must be sure that understanding can in no way constitute a threat before they can welcome it. Many of us are afraid that someone will "see through us," un-

covering our hidden weaknesses. We have put up strong defenses against this. Much of what we say, many of the things we do, are designed to hide rather than to reveal our underlying motives and traits. For this reason, if it happens that the counselor shows by some penetrating remark that he has seen through a new client's defenses, the person may very well retreat in panic from the whole situation. It is only when he has become certain of a thorough-going unshakeable acceptance that he can run the risk of trying to make his real feelings understood. All of this does not mean, of course, that a client is clear about his own attitudes and is deliberately trying to keep the counselor from finding them out. It is against his *own* understanding as well as another's that he has fortified himself and it is *self*-acceptance as well as the consciousness of acceptance by someone else that makes it possible for him to let down the bars.

The capacity for accepting others is a trait far broader than specific training in counseling skills. The counselor's basic attitudes toward human beings are involved, and such basic attitudes are not the product of a year's cultivation or of specific educational experiences. They grow from the responses a person makes to all the experiences of his life. We know only a little about the kinds of experience that produce the accepting attitude. Thorough grounding in psychology probably helps to the extent that it enables one to be interested in the mental processes behind an individual's behavior instead of passing judgment on the behavior itself. Reading of novels, poetry, and plays seems to deepen one's respect for human personality. Dealing with all kinds of people in everyday life helps one to feel at home with them. Fortunately there seems to be no one single road to this goal. Most men and women who are preparing for counseling careers have already developed this attitude to a considerable degree, else they would not have been attracted by this profession. What they need is a deepening and enriching of what is there. This process need not

be confined to the period of undergraduate and graduate education but can go on throughout life. Indeed, there is a benign circle that comes into existence when the counselor takes up his work. The basic regard for the worth of human individuals that undergirds his work from the beginning inevitably is strengthened as he gets more experience. As it increases he becomes a better counselor and thus better able to stimulate the kind of achievement in his clients that adds still more depth and solidity to his acceptance of them and of others.

As might be gathered from the preceding paragraphs, acceptance is not an easy trait to pin down with a precise definition. It is better described than defined. It involves primarily two things—first, a willingness to allow individuals to differ from one another in all sorts of ways, and second, a realization that the ongoing experience of each person is a complex pattern of striving, thinking, and feeling. The accepting counselor has no standard measuring rod against which he sizes up all comers. Whatever measuring devices he does use are to help him understand the *pattern* of the individual personality, not to determine the worth of it. To him the ambitious boy with the 90 IQ—or the lazy boy, for that matter—naturally commands just as much interest and respect as his classmate with an IQ of 150. In either case the individual's goals, values, plans, beliefs, and feelings are of absorbing interest. If the counselor has this genuine interest in the person, respect and liking will probably follow as a natural consequence. The accepting attitude is the opposite of contempt. Cynicism about human nature has no part in it. And it is a feeling about an *individual*, not about mankind in the abstract. Lofty generalizations about the dignity of personality are irrelevant to it. Respect for the individual may or may not accompany optimistic philosophical or religious beliefs about man as a species. It is because acceptance is so closely tied to understanding the person

as an individual that the two qualities we have stressed cannot be separated, in counseling or anywhere else.

While we cannot say much about specific means of developing an accepting attitude, we can be quite specific about ways of communicating it to the client during the first interview. It is to be remembered, however, that these are in no sense "tricks of the trade." It is far more important that the counselor feel the right way toward the client than that he do and say all the correct things. To put on a mask of friendliness to cover hostility, contempt, or plain lack of interest, is to confuse the client, not to help him. Signs of the real feelings will inevitably appear during the interview, and unless the counselee is a person of unusual psychological sophistication he will react to them without knowing what they mean. He will realize vaguely that all is not well with the situation and will probably not return to it again.

The first things that are to be done in making acceptance evident to the counselee can be thought of simply as hospitality. How near the fundamental attitude is to true hospitality becomes beautifully clear in the verse from Laotzu (27):

> If the sign of life is in your face
> He who responds to it
> Will feel secure and fit
> As when, in a friendly place,
> Sure of hearty care
> A traveler gladly waits.
> Though it may not taste like food
> And he may not see the fare
> Or hear a sound of plates,
> How endless it is and how good.

There are many specific things a counselor can do to express this warm hospitality. He will arrange for personal introductions as much as possible. If a receptionist or secretary is the first person a client sees, it is important that she greet him in a friendly way

and if possible present him by name to the counselor. He will be careful to be on time for all his appointments so that no client will need to wait. Too often, waiting generates a feeling that nobody cares about one's problems. An office that is not too bare, chairs that are not too hard, freedom from interruptions either by personal call or by telephone—all these things help to create the right atmosphere. There are many others. Sometimes so small a thing as indicating a place to dry a wet coat or adjusting a shade which is letting in too much sun is a way of showing consideration for another's comfort.

Just what should be done varies from one interview to another. Experienced interviewers usually recommend to novices that they carry on some sort of general conversation during the early part of the interview until the counselee begins to feel at ease in this new situation. The skill involved here is that of picking up clues to topics of conversation likely to interest the person. If the counselor has seen him at a game, an art exhibit, or a concert, to mention that fact may be a good beginning. Something the person is carrying with him—a book, a package of phonograph records, or a tennis racket—may be a good point from which to start. Mutual friends or a part of the country they both know may furnish material for conversation. One must be alert in using any of these clues, however, to the possibility that it is a disagreeable rather than a pleasant topic. The girl may have gone to the art exhibit not because she has any interest in art but because all of her housemates were out on dates and she was too miserably lonely to stay home. The book a boy happens to be carrying may turn out to be the text for a course he is failing but cannot bring himself to study. The mention of a mutual friend or a member of the client's family may constitute a very touchy subject if the client feels that he is being compared with this person to his own disadvantage. When something like this happens at the beginning of an interview the counselor, realizing that he has unwittingly

irritated a sore spot, will ordinarily do as he would in any tactful conversation—shift smoothly to some other topic.

But even this is no invariable rule. Counseling is not conversation and it is not essential that it be maintained or even begun on a pleasant level. Occasionally someone will come in so obviously disturbed about something in particular that to start out with a calm, reassuring conversation is neither possible nor desirable. In such instances just the simple question, "What is it that you would like to talk to me about?" is all that is needed after the person has been seated and made physically comfortable. Similarly, in situations like the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, when a touchy subject is uncovered through a chance remark, often the best thing to do, once this has happened, is to recognize the feeling that has been shown and allow the client to enlarge upon it if he wishes. Take for example the following sequence:

COUNSELOR: Good morning, Mr. Murdock. Are you any relation to Arthur Murdock who graduated here last year?

CLIENT: Yes, worse luck. He's my brother. Everybody I run into seems to know him and asks me if I'm going to make a big name for myself the way he did.

(The counselor notes at this point two kinds of negative feeling that he has touched off by his ill-advised question. One is Joe's doubt as to whether he is going to be able to live up to his brother's reputation. The other is a trace of hostility toward the counselor for raising the same uncomfortable question that everybody else raises. In view of the client's evident willingness to talk about it, it seems that this is as good a point of departure as any for getting into the real problems. There is no reason why acceptance now of these doubts and negative feelings cannot help to demonstrate genuine acceptance of Joe Murdock as a person. So he proceeds accordingly.)

COUNSELOR: I suppose it's a little annoying always to be greeted as Arthur's brother rather than as a person in your own right.

CLIENT: Well, I do get tired of it. All my life that's been the way it was. When I started kindergarten the teacher still remembered what a cute, smart little boy Arthur had been. I got into high school just the year after he graduated and the same

> thing happened. He'd been salutatorian, captain of the debate team, and I don't know what all. If I could do all the things he can I wouldn't mind. But I'm the dumb one in our family, I guess. . . .

Thus this particular interview is started on its main course, having skipped almost entirely the putting-the-client-at-ease, making-him-feel-accepted stage. Whether to go ahead in this fashion or to retreat into conversation about superficial, non-painful topics for a while longer must depend on the counselor's judgment of the client's probable response. In this instance, if his answer to the question about his brother had shown a less definite feeling it would probably have been better not to let things take this course. Had Joe simply said, "Yes, he's my brother," with indications of some discomfort, the counselor might have followed with, "After a person has been around for as many years as I have he gets familiar with some of the names connected with the college. You're a freshman this year?", thus opening the way for a more general conversation. In general it is better not to begin an interview by asking a question about a brother or other relative, since it leads away from the feeling we wish the counselee to get—that he is accepted for his own sake.

What this example is intended to illustrate is that even after something has been said which jeopardizes the relationship upon which progress depends, the skillful counselor can make use of what has occurred and set the relationship right again. To do this requires a kind of alertness and sensitivity that are called for in few other types of human activity. Counseling is hard work. It also requires a large amount of what Theodor Reik in his fine book on psychoanalysis, *Listening with the Third Ear* (122), describes as "moral courage." One must be prepared to face whatever turns up without flinching, no matter how unexpected or unwelcome it is. If some such matter, a hostile impulse or an unreasonable fear, happens to show itself in the first five minutes

of the first interview, that is the time it must be faced. Usually things will not work out this way. The really significant attitudes are more likely to appear after the client has developed some confidence that he is liked and accepted than at the beginning. The business of making acceptance clear to the person may take two minutes or five hours, but it is an essential feature of counseling.

Acceptance, as we have been using the term, does not involve either approval or disapproval of the particular aspects of a client's personality or conduct upon which he happens to be reporting at any given time. It is the personality as a whole, not any one facet of it, that the counselor accepts. Particularly is this true in the initial interview when the pattern of the individual's attitudes about himself is not yet clear. It is easy to see that at this stage, disapproval of something he has done or thought may give a client the feeling that he is not liked or that his difficulties are beyond help. It is not so obvious, but just as true, that commendation for something which looks admirable may also retard the development of sound attitudes. We must never jump to conclusions in counseling. What looks like a minor fault may be a necessary concomitant of one of the person's most valuable traits. What looks like a sterling virtue may be a defense against anxiety destined to change its shape as anxiety diminishes.

The importance of not letting approval or disapproval deflect the counseling process from its course can be illustrated more easily than it can be explained. Dick McDonald has been referred to a counselor by a faculty member, who recognizes his high ability and is concerned about his poor scholarship. The appointment is made through the usual procedures. On the morning of his first scheduled interview Mr. McDonald shows up ten minutes late, his hair disheveled and a twenty-four-hour growth of beard on his good-looking face. The counselor of course says nothing about either the tardiness or the untidiness but invites

him to sit down and make himself comfortable. He begins the conversation by mentioning what Mr. Larson, the faculty member, has said about Dick's capacity for doing better work than his record shows so far and asks the young man to tell him a little more about himself—things such as where he has gone to school and what his future plans are. The boy outlines some bare facts about himself but without any clues as to his real interests and motives. The counselor tries without much success to find some point of departure for more productive conversation. McDonald answers each question with a single word or phrase and then sits back and waits for the next. He does not appear unfriendly or uninterested, but it is plain that nothing much is being communicated. The interview seems to be bogging down. Suddenly with a wry smile the young man says, "I'm sorry. I'm just not on the ball this morning. I was out celebrating with some of the boys at the house last night and we didn't get in until five o'clock this morning. I set the alarm for eight o'clock because I didn't want to miss this appointment, but I just can't think. My head feels as if it were about the size of a watermelon."

What should the counselor do? The habits represented by this incident are in all probability quite closely related to the poor scholarship. But would any useful purpose be served by pointing this out and delivering a little lecture on the evils of alcohol? Quite obviously the answer is "No." Mr. McDonald knows these facts as well as the counselor does—or better. The only effect of such a procedure would be to leave him with the feeling that there is one more person who is disappointed in him. To do this also involves the risk of getting the counselor identified with other persons who have taken reproving or punishing roles toward him in the past, his father, for example. When this happens, he is likely simply to repeat the reactions he has made to this person in the past rather than to learn something new.

On the other hand, for the counselor to smile in a jolly way

and say something like, "We all need a little fun occasionally," would be just as unfortunate. Mr. McDonald needs to do some thinking about the pattern his life is taking. He has shown that he wishes to do this by making an extra effort to keep his appointment and by explaining candidly why he is inadequate. To treat the drinking bout as a bit of natural and unimportant play activity is to defeat his efforts, to gloss over the struggle going on in his inner self instead of helping him carry it through.

If he can show the right kindness of accent and expression perhaps the best move for the counselor is to say, "All right. Would you like to come back tomorrow at this hour?" By such a reply he recognizes both the feeling of not being able to think and the real desire to do the thinking. By setting the time in the very near future he shows that he is not trying to punish the boy but is really eager to help him. No comment whatever need be made about the problem behavior itself. To show acceptance of the person with all his shortcomings and his strivings but avoid being sidetracked into expressions of opinion about the things he does—this is the counselor's aim.

Keeping in mind what has been said about the accepting attitude as a first essential, let us turn next to a consideration of "understanding" as it functions in good counseling. Let us be clear from the beginning that this quality we are thinking about is a strictly limited thing. It is not any magical power, any intuitive wisdom, or any X-ray eye that enables a psychologist to see through to a person's innermost nature. To understand is simply to grasp clearly and completely the meaning the client is trying to convey. Probably no human being ever fully understands another and certainly the good counselor never feels that his client's whole personality is like an open book. Furthermore, it is neither necessary nor desirable that the counselor understand the individual better than he understands himself. In the productive interview communication of thoughts and feelings is at a maximum;

thus understanding is a sharing process. Whether the topic under discussion is the meaning of a set of objective test scores, the facts underlying an occupational choice, or a puzzling aspect of the counselee's relationship to his wife, what the person says gives the counselor a sense of the meaning of this bit of experience, a meaning which he then attempts to put into words which will clarify it for both of them.

In order to understand in this way it is not enough that one find out the facts about the individual's life. It is the attitudes growing out of these facts that matter, the way the person sees them and reacts to them. It is necessary that the counselor, as he listens, constantly and automatically put himself in the client's place and try to see the circumstances as he sees them, not as they look to an outsider. Simple as this is to say, it is the skill which seems hardest to learn. When a child tells us how hard his parents are on him, how often and how severely he is punished for trivial offenses, our first impulse is to check up on the facts. Are these parents in fact cruel? No-one would deny that it is often necessary to make such an investigation, but the checking up is not counseling. There are other professional workers whose business it is to look into situations like this. The counselor's task is to see this family as the child sees it. Whether it would look the same to someone else or even whether it looks this way to him in all moods at all times is at the moment irrelevant.

If we think of a human life as a large, very complex, but somewhat blurred and ambiguous tapestry, it may help make tangible what we are trying to do. We need to see the pattern of this tapestry as clearly as possible. This cannot be done at a glance, and there is no way of doing it without effort. It may be necessary to scrutinize for a considerable time each of several small details before we begin to see how they fit into the large design. Where parts do not seem to fit together we must trace the connecting threads. The analogy carries us only a part of the way, however,

because a tapestry is a static, complete thing, whereas a personality is constantly in the process of change. But it may serve to make the point that counseling is basically a *perceptual* skill. It is not possible to learn to say the right thing at the right time without learning to listen and watch and understand.

This perceptual skill is a matter of registering and responding to a great many kinds of stimulation as they are presented in the interview situation. It requires a high degree of both alertness and sensitivity. Perhaps it is most similar to the keenness of observation we admired so much in the Indians and woodsmen we read about as children. Instead of responding as they did to faint footprints, broken twigs, and almost imperceptible distant sounds, the counselor picks up slight changes of color, tensing of muscles, hesitation in speech, change of vocal pitch, or undue emphasis on certain words.

While there are no systematic procedures to follow there are certain guiding principles that show us what to look for. We know in the first place that a personality is organized around relationships with others and attitudes about oneself. There is one personal relationship directly open to observation—namely, the person's relationship to the counselor himself. The self-attitudes that are most accessible are the ways he sees his role in the counseling situation. Thus to sense the structure of this present situation is to get hold of something to which many other things can gradually be related.

Counselors have had much to say about "the counseling relationship" and psychoanalysts have had still more to say about "the transference." What has not been stressed enough in all these discussions of "*the* counseling relationship" or "*the* transference" is the fact that *each* relationship has its own individual characteristics; each is unique. It is on these unique characteristics of this particular relationship that the counselor should focus his attention at the beginning.

In doing this, the first question he asks himself is, "What are this person's expectations from counseling?" "What does he think is going to happen?" "What does he hope to get out of it?" Even before the first interview begins we can sometimes get a clue as to some components of a client's attitude if we know how the referral has been made. If Miss Lane has come voluntarily, on the recommendation of a friend who has been counseled, she will be prepared to be treated as her friend was. If her friend took tests, she will expect to take some. If her friend liked Mr. Brady she will probably expect to like him too, and no lengthy process of "ice-breaking" may be necessary. Completely different is the situation of John Grew, whom the high school principal has sent to Mr. Hughes, the counselor, because of repeated truancies. Mr. Hughes can expect John to regard him as one of the authorities with whom he wages a continuous guerilla warfare. He realizes that there is probably nothing he can say about a counselor's intentions which will change that attitude at the beginning. The boy is likely to be wary, defensive, and non-communicative, and it is only by accepting him that way that the counselor has a chance of developing a healthier relationship.

Or consider still a third sort of referral leading to an unsatisfactory structuring of the counseling situation. Mike Madison, a college sophomore, has felt increasingly moody and morose following a disastrous love affair. His faculty adviser, noticing these changes, inquires about his health. Mike tells him about his terrific nightmares which sometimes cause him to cry out in his sleep. The adviser is frightened by the possibility of some serious psychiatric condition and shows this alarm in the way in which he recommends to Mike that he make an appointment at the Counseling Center. Under such circumstances Mike is likely to approach the first interview with considerable apprehension. Is there something seriously wrong with him, and will the psychologist recognize it immediately?

We could go on and on indefinitely, multiplying examples of the diverse and highly individual expectations that different clients bring to counseling. It is usually worth the counselor's while to find out, if he can, what the circumstances of the referral were, and thus "get set" for some of the attitudes he may encounter. Then by careful attention to what is said and how it is said, he can begin to perceive the pattern of the psychological structure existing at the very outset of the first interview.

Although it is possible for counseling to proceed regardless of what these initial attitudes are, it goes more smoothly and expeditiously if referrals are made in an optimum way. The administrator who is responsible for the organization of a program can help here by making other personnel people such as teachers, advisers, and receptionists acquainted with the features characterizing a good referral. It is advisable that it be personal if possible, so that the warm friendliness we have stressed earlier can be in it from the very start. If it is possible to introduce the client to the counselor, that is the best way. When this is not feasible, a telephone call may be used to bridge the gap. It is always a good plan to give the prospective counselee clear information about where to go and when, so that he will be spared unnecessary doubt and uncertainty. Counseling should be recommended to him in such a way as not to commit the counselor ahead of time to any one plan of action. For instance, it is much better to say to a student who has been shifting uncertainly from one major to another, "Did you know that we have over in Emerald Hall a counseling service to help students decide what they want to do?" than to say, "I suggest that you go over to Emerald Hall and take some vocational aptitude tests." Another important consideration is that there should be no threat, actual or implied, attached to the recommendation. When the Dean of Men says to a student, "I tell you what. Either you make an appointment at the Counseling Center or you'll have to drop out of school next semester," he

creates by these words an initial relationship which is very difficult to handle constructively. Finally, it is better to let the client himself decide when he wishes to come than to arrange it for him and assign him a time. With busy schedules, there are limits, of course, to the amount of self-determination possible.

Besides these factors related to the circumstances of referral there is another whole set of factors affecting the structure of the initial relationship—the client's general attitudes toward broad categories of people. These are extremely varied, as human beings classify their fellow-men in all sorts of ways. It is harder for the counselor to anticipate these, but if he can it facilitates understanding. Sometimes an item entered in the person's record gives him a clue as to what to be prepared for. One young man applying for vocational counseling, for example, answered a question on a preliminary information blank, "What sort of activity do you enjoy most?" with the reply, "Talking to an intelligent woman." The woman counselor scheduled to interview him assumed that he would come to his first appointment with pleasant expectations and that rapport would be no problem. Ordinarily, however, one simply does not know before meeting a client just what these attitudes are likely to be. One must look for them during the interview itself. There are some areas, however, in which complications arise often enough so that it is worthwhile to consider them especially.

The first of these has to do with the individual's attitudes toward the sexes. Because this classification is the most universal and obvious one the child meets, it is almost inevitable that he should develop some general conceptions of what men are like and what women are like. Research studies have given evidence for this sort of categorization as far down as the nursery school age. Obviously, since a counselor must be either a man or a woman, some of the client's feelings about the sex as a whole may well color the counseling relationship. Often apparently irra-

tional signs of hostility or dependency can be accounted for in this way.

A concrete example will illustrate the way the process works. Bob Regis, a college freshman who has been subject to acute attacks of anxiety, makes an appointment with Mrs. Martin, on a friend's recommendation. At the time of his first visit he sidles into the office and takes a chair in the farthest corner of the room. He sits there on the edge of the chair looking acutely uncomfortable, as though he were about to take flight at any moment. Mrs. Martin does what she can to put him at ease by adopting a relaxed attitude herself and conversing for a few moments about general school happenings. During the latter part of the hour he outlines his symptoms, talking about them rather flatly and objectively as though they were not really part of him. There is still no evidence of a good working relationship when the hour is over, but he does make an appointment to return the next week. On this occasion his behavior is quite different. He goes directly to a chair beside Mrs. Martin's desk. The first thing he says is, "I thought I'd better tell you why it was so hard for me to talk to you last week; I've always hated women. I suppose it's because of the sort of person my mother was . . . ," and he branches off into an account of the tangled emotional relationships in his family. In this case there was nothing Mrs. Martin could have done at the time of the first interview that would have released this confidence. There was no way she could know for sure what it was that was blocking him. The only course possible for her was the one she followed, to accept him as he was without impatience and wait for the attitude that would clarify the structure of the relationship to become apparent.

Cases such as this raise the general questions as to the advisability of having counselor and counselee of opposite sex. Most high schools and many colleges arrange for men to take care of the boys and women the girls. There is no evidence, however, that

this is the best practice or the one making for best rapport in all cases. If a boy has had a stern, unloving father and a sweet, indulgent mother, he will probably feel more at ease with a woman than with a man. Furthermore, these questions are too complex to be thought through on the basis of rapport alone. Counseling is a *learning* process, a situation in which emotional attitudes are *modified*. Once he overcame the initial obstacle, it seems quite likely that Bob Regis could learn what he needed to know more effectively through his contact with Mrs. Martin than through knowing a male counselor. On the other hand, it might be better for the boy with the severe father to find out through counseling that all men are not like this. Thus he might learn more from dealing with a man even if he felt less comfortable about the situation in the beginning. We simply do not know enough about these things to decide wisely. Probably the best procedure, in view of this ignorance, is to let the client decide, if counselors of both sexes are available.

One thing is fairly certain. For the counselor to be aware of broad sex attitudes and accept them naturally whether they are favorable or unfavorable advances the counseling process. It is not a matter that can be approached by direct questions, however, and we must be careful not to jump to conclusions or make interpretations that go beyond what the client has said. Such comments as, "What do you think about women?" or "You don't trust men very much, do you?" are more likely to put him on guard than to elicit his true feelings.

Some other broad attitude categories that may influence the initial stages of counseling are those centering around age, around parents, and around teachers. Young people, especially teenagers, often have what seem to their elders quite fantastic ideas of the ways in which age groups differ. If one would understand how a girl sees the counseling situation at the beginning, it is sometimes necessary to understand what her age stereotypes are.

It is almost inevitable that attitudes carried over from parent-child relationships should weave themselves into the complex fabric of the counseling relationship. Similarly, since so much of this work is done in a school setting, it is natural that many boys and girls should at first identify counselors with teachers and principals.

Since the number of combinations of even these few factors we have been able to single out is large, it is not strange that there can be no one standard relationship that we attempt to set up for all comers. Mr. Hendricks, a forty-year-old college counselor, must realize that he is a very different figure to the different individuals he sees during the course of a day. To seventeen-year-old Elsie Bliss he appears to be a middle-aged man something like her father, a decent sort on the whole, but probably given to sudden bursts of anger if one acts loud or silly. To Mr. Jensen, a forty-five-year-old veteran trying to make a new start after losing the small business he owned before the war, he looks like a young upstart who has probably been more successful than he deserves and who is likely to be contemptuous of a man who at forty-five is a failure. To Miss Blair, a thirty-year-old schoolteacher who has returned to college because she is tired of sixth graders and wishes she could find something else to do, he is an interesting-looking man whom she would very much like to know better. She wonders whether or not he is married and decides that she mustn't be too open with him and tell him everything she has been thinking about because, after all, she would like to make a good impression.

If the counselor is a psychologist, or the organization for which he works is connected with a psychology department, attitudes are still further complicated by feelings clients have about this profession. In some cases their beliefs are based largely on psychiatric movies they have seen. In others, a smattering of Freud has given them some facility in talking about catharsis, superegos, and castration complexes. Some come directly from courses that

have given them more realistic ideas of the benefits to be derived from counseling. Whatever bits of fact or fancy the person is carrying with him will be woven into the fabric of the initial relationship.

So far we have been talking about the counseling relationship as though it depended on the attitudes of the client alone. We must not lose sight of the fact that it has another side. The counselor's own feelings are bound up in it too. We have said earlier that he should be an accepting person who finds it easy to be interested in diverse kinds of individuals and to wish them well. This, however, is not a blanket attitude that covers all with equal warmth. Inevitably he will like some clients better than others and will feel more kinship with some than with others. Inevitably also, since he is a sensitive human being, he will react on an immediate unconscious level to subtle indications of hostility in a person he is interviewing. These things will be true no matter how well-integrated a person he is and even if he has set his own personality in order through some thorough-going psychotherapy before beginning his work.

In general, these attitudes of the counselor will not prevent a good relationship from developing if he can recognize and accept them in himself as naturally as he recognizes the attitudes clients are showing. The two are threads of different colors woven into the complex pattern of the relationship. Blindness for one of the colors distorts the pattern. He need not demand of himself that he like all kinds of people equally well or understand them all with equal facility. He is no superman. To insist that he is is simply to shut his eyes to a part of the reality he faces.

The one counselor attitude that militates strongly against a favorable outcome is active dislike. Occasionally anyone in this kind of work, no matter how high his principles or how broad his sympathies, will encounter someone for whom he feels nothing but repugnance. When this happens it is best that he work out

some arrangement that will terminate his connection with the case after the first interview. This may mean introducing the prospective client to another counselor at the same agency whose attitudes are thought to be more favorable toward persons of this sort. It may mean referring him to a different type of organization, perhaps for medical or psychiatric help. It may even mean abandoning any attempt to help him and explaining to him that there is nothing your service can do. Even this is preferable to continuing a relationship not built on a solid foundation. Fortunately such a situation occurs but rarely. Fortunately also, we do not all dislike intensely the same kinds of people, so that one counselor can help where another cannot.

It is well that no-one make such a dislike judgment in too much of a hurry, however. There is a curious perceptual shift that sometimes takes place during an interview with an individual who initially makes an unfavorable impression. It is as sudden and definite as what happens when the well-known staircase figure flops over. It seems to come as Rogers (126, p. 32) has pointed out, when the counselor succeeds in adopting the internal rather than the external frame of reference with regard to the person. For example, a woman counselor finds herself becoming intensely irritated with a young man who is explaining what high standards he has always had, how much emphasis his family put on cleanliness, punctuality, and good manners, and how hard a task he faces "trying to train his lower-class wife in these desirable habits." "What an opinionated prig he is!" she thinks to herself. "How does his wife ever endure it?"

But as she says nothing and listens to the rest of what he has to say about his childhood and his parents, suddenly his whole aspect changes for her. Here is a pathetic boy making a desperate effort to be perfect and to do everything right because his mother and father expect it of him. He has never managed to satisfy them, but he cannot stop trying. Their standards are part of him.

He is still struggling to keep everything under control and thus head off some vague but very threatening disaster he has been led to expect. All at once she feels part of that struggle for she too has experienced it. The dislike and annoyance have vanished without a trace.

If we ever come to know more about how to make this shift take place, we shall have discovered something that will carry us far beyond the confines of counseling into broader areas of human relations. For the present all we can be sure of is that we are most likely to achieve the experience if we concentrate all our efforts on trying to see the client's life from his own viewpoint.

We have discussed in considerable detail the questions that the counselor carries with him, somewhere in the back of his mind, during the first interview. The phrase, "in the back of his mind," prescientific as it sounds, was chosen advisedly. The "front of his mind" is completely occupied with listening and observing, trying to put himself in the other person's place. Judgments about the client's expectations from counseling, his attitudes toward people of the counselor's sex, age, and position, and recognition of one's own feelings toward this particular person constitute the "ground" against which the "figure" shaped by the client's problems will be made manifest. It is the high degree of awareness which we have been recommending that most distinctively sets the counseling interview apart from general conversation.

By this time many readers may be asking whether it is really necessary that *all* counselors think in this way. How about the men in a vocational guidance office whose work is confined to matching young people and jobs? How about the high school adviser whose interviews are concerned almost entirely with helping students to choose courses wisely?

The answer is that to be aware of all the nuances of feeling is as valuable in these situations as in those we label psychother-

apy. Vocational and educational counseling will be far more effective when this is realized. Such awareness does not lead us to overcomplicate essentially simple situations. When a student who seems to be doing well in all he undertakes states that his only difficulty is choosing between medicine and engineering, there is no reason to insist on involved unconscious motivations. The kind of sensitivity we have been describing is as well adapted to the perception of a simple design as a complex one, if a simple design is what is there. But it is becoming increasingly clear that an individual's unique personal attitudes are as much a part of his vocational and educational choices as they are of his friendships and love affairs. Thus we cannot assume that *all* educational and vocational problems are simple. The boy mentioned above who is hesitating between medicine and engineering *may* simply lack information about the demands and rewards of each, but his uncertainty *may* represent something as intangible as deep-seated doubts about his own masculinity, doubts which are impelling him toward engineering as a way of proving himself a man. Farfetched as this may sound, vocational conflicts often involve just such emotional undercurrents. The counselor whose eyes are closed to them loses his opportunity to help the person. The advantages of the approach we have been advocating is that it enables the skillful worker to face problems realistically at all levels of complexity. We cannot on any superficial basis classify the problems into those which require skillful handling and those which do not.

In the early publications of representatives of the non-directive school one of the outlined steps in the counseling process was "structuring" the counseling situation for the client. As time has passed, it has become clear that attempting to do this in the initial interview usually serves no useful purpose. For one thing, as has been said, we cannot create the same structure for all comers.

What both client and counselor bring to this particular relationship from their own past experience gives it a shape of its own that cannot be fitted exactly into any standard framework. Furthermore, whatever the counselor says about counseling will be interpreted in accordance with the client's needs and demands. If, for instance, his explanation is, "We do not give you advice here, but we try to help you make your own decisions," the dependent, anxious person will hear not just a statement of fact about counseling but a discouraging rebuff. To him it means, "This won't be any help either. Nobody wants to help me."

Just because he refrains from structuring the situation for a dependent client, however, it is not necessary that the counselor *give* advice to satisfy this demand. The same things that were said about approval and disapproval are relevant here. All the counselor need do is to understand the client's need for someone to lean on and to communicate that understanding. When the time comes that the individual is no longer so dependent, it will no longer be necessary to inform him as to the purpose and methods of counseling. Attempting to structure the situation at the beginning is not a recommended procedure because it partakes more of telling a person how he *ought* to feel than of recognizing and accepting the way he does feel.

In addition to the perceptual skill required to pick up the essential structure of an interview, simple or complex as it may be, the counselor needs also to develop skill in communicating his understanding to the client. It is in this area that the contributions of the non-directive or client-centered group of counselors have contributed most. The technique that they have labeled "reflection of feeling" when skillfully used is a very effective means of showing the client that the counselor is following him. Let us look at an example of the way the process works.[1]

[1] Virginia M. Axline, "The Case of Marjorie Winkler." From (147), pp. 312–315.

(*The client in this case is an eighteen-year-old girl who has just undergone plastic surgery.*)

STUDENT: Well, here I am. This is all perfectly silly, but the doctor *insisted* that I come to see you. I promised the doctor that I would come for *one hour* and here I am.

COUNSELOR: You're here because of the doctor's insistence and not because you feel any need for it.

STUDENT: Yes, that's it exactly. The doctor says there isn't anything wrong with me physically—that all my symptoms are because I am emotionally disturbed about things. Well, that's a lie. I'm not emotionally disturbed about anything. (*Spoken rapidly and with considerable heat.*)

COUNSELOR: You feel that the doctor is wrong when he says that you are emotionally disturbed to the extent that—

STUDENT: (*Interrupting*) I have *nothing* to worry about. I have all the money I want. I live at the sorority house and have lots of friends. I'm getting good grades. What *could* be bothering me?

COUNSELOR: You feel that you have lots of advantages and there is apparently nothing that could be bothering you.

STUDENT: Yes. I think that sums it up. (*Begins to cry.*) This is one of the things he said indicated that I was upset about something. (*Sniffs, blows nose, wipes eyes, cries.*)

COUNSELOR: The doctor felt that the tears were caused by some emotional disturbance.

STUDENT: (*Blubbering*) For no reason at all I cry. I just feel like crying and never stop crying. I don't know why.

COUNSELOR: You don't know why you get those feelings that you never can stop crying.

STUDENT: Oh, *I* know why.

COUNSELOR: You think you know why you do it.

STUDENT: I had an operation. It's just a very natural nervous reaction.

COUNSELOR: You think it's the natural aftermath of your operation.

STUDENT: (*Weeping copiously*) It was my face. I was terribly ugly as a child. My nose and chin. One day this summer Mother said to me, "I've made all the arrangements for you to go to New York and have some plastic surgery. You will stay at the New Yorker and should be able to come home by August." That's all. Not asking *me* how I felt. Not giving a damn. And I had to go. It was such a shock when it was all over and I looked in the mirror, there was another person. I even had to have my hair done over—a rinse. The

ugly duckling was gone. Pretty swell job, don't you think? (*The tone of her voice implied extreme sarcasm, bitterness, and resentment.*)

COUNSELOR: A swell job, but you're not very happy about it.

STUDENT: (*Voice drops very low*) How would you feel? I look entirely different. No one recognizes me. (*Voice rises suddenly.*) I feel like a cheat and a crook. I'm a masquerader. I'm not *me.* I'm artificial. And I *had* to come back *here.* And no one knew me. Not the sorority girls, or the professors. And when they found out what had happened—I told them right away—(*voice drops very low*) they said, "How wonderful! Why, you're beautiful. You're lucky you could afford it!" And I thanked them and pretended that I was tickled—but deep down inside of me my very soul cried out, "Fraud! Fraud! Fraud!" (*Sobs.*)

COUNSELOR: Even though the girls you knew admired the change in your appearance, you couldn't feel that it was fair. You felt like a fraud.

At first glance this looks like an easy thing to do. Consequently it is often a great surprise to a would-be counselor when he plays back to himself a recording of an interview he has made to see how unsuccessfully he has done it. The first source of difficulty is that it is *feeling* one must attempt to reflect, not facts. When a student says, "I'm terribly worried about chemistry. It's the one course I have to do well in if I ever expect to get into Medical School, and I just can't get it. I study for hours every day, but the more I read the more confused I get," the counselor's response should be to the *worry,* not to the academic deficiency. A good answer would be, "It upsets you to know that your whole future depends on something and yet not be able to do it." To say, "Chemistry is your hardest subject?" is to miss the person's real concern. Because they pick up facts rather than attitudes, some published interviews have a rather wooden sound. Mere repeating back of some of the words a client has just said is more likely to irritate him than to give him the assurance that the counselor is grasping his meaning.

Another difficulty arises because there will often be in one uninterrupted client sequence a number of different feelings represented. In such a case it is hard to decide what to reflect. If in this situation the counselor can think of a brief comment that puts together several of the attitudes that have been expressed he will have done the best thing possible. Actually, however, even if he cannot do this, whatever he says to communicate an understanding of *some* attitude will advance the interview. It seems not to make too much difference which he responds to. The immediate direction the interview takes may be affected, but it is quite certain that any significant feelings bypassed now will show up later.

Still another difficulty has to do with the specific words the counselor uses. The one thing he wishes not to do is to arouse defensive attitudes. Certain ways of putting things are more likely than others to affect people adversely. A word like "coward," "stupid," or "effeminate" should probably never be used unless the client has used that very word himself. It is as feasible to say, "You can't quite bring yourself to attempt it," as "You haven't the courage to try." Either is an expression of a painful emotional attitude but the second is much more likely than the first to arouse defensiveness. Much the same rules apply here as in ordinary tactful conversation. This does not mean that reality should be watered down or glossed over. Counseling differs from most conversation in that problem areas and unpleasant facts are faced, not ignored or sidetracked. They need not, however, be presented brutally.

It is not always possible to avoid words that arouse defensiveness, since individuals have their own unique sore spots. One young man, for instance, flared up when a counselor used the word "emotional" in reflecting a feeling he was expressing. "I'm not emotional," he fairly shouted. "Whatever else I am, I've always been completely rational. Nobody can accuse me of being an emotional person."

When a counselor unwittingly uses a word that touches off such a reaction the only thing he can do is to accept and understand the attitude his remark has stimulated. To apologize or to defend himself would be equally useless. He might, for example, say something like this, "You pride yourself on being a calm, rational person," and go on from there. No harm is done by bursts of anger like this if they do not occur too often. It is when the client feels it necessary to defend himself continually that the groundwork of a good relationship cannot be built.

It might be well at this point to consider briefly the source of the counselor's understanding. How is it that he can comprehend vague and subtle emotions, often very haltingly expressed, emotions rooted in the backgrounds and personal relationships of very different individuals? There seems to be only one answer, unless we are willing to cut ourselves off from naturalistic explanations. The understanding must come from his own experience. Different as their lives are on the surface, the struggles, anxieties, and aspirations of the persons he is interviewing resemble his own enough so that he can experience them vicariously. The hazard that this fact constitutes for the inexperienced counselor is that the empathy he feels will stimulate an urge to talk about himself. He can hardly escape impulses to show clients how well he understands them by citing incidents from his own life.

In general, such impulses should be inhibited, although it may well be true that some counselors have succeeded in helping some people by such methods. It is inadvisable because it tends to confuse the client about the structure of the situation, blurring one of the main distinctions between counseling and conversation, the fact that in counseling the spotlight is focused on one participant, not on both. More important still, it is inadvisable because it may very easily have an effect exactly the opposite of the one intended. Because his grasp of the client's meaning is incomplete, and because his own experience is not comparable with the other per-

son's in all particulars, the recounting of it may give the impression of a *failure* to comprehend. The client's reaction may be, "He thinks he has me classified. He doesn't realize that mine is no simple decision such as his was. How little he understands!" Therefore it is wiser on the whole not to succumb to the temptation to talk about oneself.

Similarly, it is not good practice to bring the cases of previous counselees into an interview, even if their problems appear to be similar to the client's. In all probability they are not similar enough so that someone else's solution can be accepted by this individual. And again there is a risk of stirring up unfavorable attitudes. The client may say to himself, "I wonder if he talks about everybody to everybody else. I don't know whether I want to tell him any more if he is going to pass on the whole story to the next person who comes in." Whether such an interpretation of what the counselor has done is fair or sound is not the point. If there is a considerable possibility that it will be taken this way, the practice should be avoided.

One problem that often puzzles inexperienced counselors—and experienced ones, too, for that matter—is what to do about periods of silence. Suppose the client sits for a minute or even longer without saying anything. The seconds drag on like hours. What should the counselor do? The answer again depends more upon perception of the structure of the situation than upon knowledge of correct techniques. Silence can mean many things. If it follows a sequence in which a person has been expressing himself freely, it may simply mean that he has reached the end of one line of thought and is deciding what to bring up next. In such cases, some act or word indicating that the counselor accepts the silence and is not embarrassed by it is all that is called for. An understanding smile may be enough. If the client shows doubt about his adequacy a remark like, "It's all right to take some time to think if you wish," may clear it up.

Another sort of silence occurs when a client is there under duress, as it were, and is motivated by conscious or unconscious negativism. Under such circumstances it would be useless for the counselor to attempt to pry information out of him through direct questioning. If the nature of the referral makes it seem probable that this silence means resistance, a remark is in order which will show recognition and acceptance of the attitude, something perhaps like, "I suppose you don't relish the idea of coming here very much."

In many cases the silence is not explained by circumstances and the counselor is at a loss to know what it means. It is hard, unless the background of events leading up to counseling is known, to differentiate between hostility and shyness. In such instances an attempt at general conversation about non-threatening topics, even falling back upon the weather if necessary, may at least produce some clues as to what the attitude is.

Occasionally the client's failure to say anything is a consequence of the mental set he has about the procedure. He expects that the counselor will ask him questions and on the basis of his answers will analyze him and tell him what to do. He may show that this is his conception of what is about to happen by asking, "Well, what do you want to know about me?" As has been said, it is futile to try deliberately to structure the situation for a client even when it appears that he has misunderstood it completely. It is better in such cases to say something that will start the person off in the right direction and let him discover for himself how counseling works. One might say, for example, "Just tell me some of the things that come to your mind about yourself—the sort of person you are, what has happened to you, what your plans are, the people who have been important to you." Suggestions as to things he might bring up can be formulated in terms diverse enough and general enough so that he will respond on the basis of his own associations.

These examples of different attitudes represented by periods of silence and the different kinds of treatment they call for on the part of the counselor are not intended to cover the whole range of possibilities. The point of this chapter is that there is not any limited and knowable range of possibilities in regard to this or any other counseling problem. The counselor's task does not consist of choosing the appropriate technique for a certain *type* of situation but rather of comprehending the essential structure of each *individual* situation and responding accordingly.

We come now to the topic of the way in which the first interview should be closed. A few minutes before the end of the scheduled time the counselor should begin to think about what needs to be settled before he and the client part company. Then the two of them can go over these arrangements together, thus clearing away any confusion or ambiguity about what comes next.

In the simpler situations where the client has requested or seems to need only some information about specific educational or vocational requirements, he can be put in touch with the sources of such information and invited to return if he has other questions. If, for one reason or another, the counselor has decided to place the case in someone else's hands, the shift can be explained and the necessary introductions and appointments made. If tests have been requested or seem to be advisable, a little time can be devoted to discussing them and deciding which ones are to be used. (This will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter.) If personal problems suggest the need for psychotherapy the possibility of further interviews can be pointed out and the next one definitely scheduled.

The important qualities during this last phase are coöperativeness, clarity, and warmth. Counselor and client decide *together* on what is next to be done. This is true even if, as often happens, it is the counselor who makes the suggestions. There is a difference between explaining what the available resources are and tell-

ing an individual what he must or should do. Implicit in the whole procedure is the counselee's freedom to accept or reject any proposed course of action. If, after it has been explained that tests can be taken which will answer many of a person's questions about himself, a client says that he does not wish to take any, that should settle the matter. He should not be urged or coerced. If, on the other hand, an anxious dependent individual, whose problems seem to have their roots in much deeper soil than the vocational indecision he complains of, chooses to take vocational tests even after the counselor has outlined for him the alternative procedures of psychotherapy, his wishes should be respected.

Clarity is important because it minimizes the client's insecurity. To know that there are ways of working on problems and difficulties and that one has set aside a certain time at a certain place to attack his own is in itself a constructive influence. Often clients report a considerable improvement in morale after the first session. When this happens it seems to be related to the definiteness of the step taken.

It is extremely important too that the closing moments be pervaded by a warm friendliness rather than a laissez-faire neutrality. It can easily happen that in his attempt to be scrupulously careful to leave the choices in the client's hands, the counselor unwittingly makes the person feel rejected or unimportant. The freedom he is given may be interpreted as indifference or as pessimism about his prospects. That such misunderstandings actually occur in a fair number of cases most counselors find out in the course of their own experience. Phrasing, manner, facial expression, and tone of voice should all express the feeling that there will be real satisfaction in seeing more of the client. Little indications make a difference. It is better to say positively, "I'll look forward to seeing you then, next Thursday at two," than to say with a questioning tone, "You'll be back next week at the same time?"

RESEARCH SUMMARY

The evidence that the kinds of procedures we have been recommending for the preliminary interview produce favorable results is scattered and, it must be admitted, far from conclusive. Only recently have counseling interviews been analyzed intensively.

A related study is one reported by Campbell (28). Thirty classification interviews with naval recruits were recorded. Twenty of the subjects were then re-interviewed by the psychologically-oriented members of the project staff, using a procedure much freer, more accepting, and more encouraging than the Navy men who had done the original interviewing had used. Letters were sent to schools the men had attended in order to check up on errors and misinformation in the interview data. Such errors turned out to be twice as frequent in the original interviews as in those by the project staff. No significance tests are reported and the total number is of course small.

Seeman (135) obtained reactions to preliminary interviews from 20 clients of each of six counselors. The majority were expecting to take tests and be given vocational information. There were significant differences in the favorableness of the response to different counselors, but they were not related to techniques used. Counselor *responsiveness* seemed to be the quality that produced the favorable reactions.

Cowen and Combs (36) report a follow-up study of 32 clients treated by non-directive therapy. The average time elapsed since the conclusion of the treatment was twenty months. The finding most significant for the problems we are considering here is that there were pronounced individual differences in responses to various aspects of the procedure. In some cases the sex of the counselor was important, in others not. Some resented note-taking. Some interpreted not being urged to return as rejection. Some responded unfavorably to the attempt made to "structure" the situation for them. Emphasis here also is placed on the counselor as a person rather than on technique. Results obtained by student counselors were not so good as those of experienced workers, and "warmth" seemed to be very important.

A study by Reid and Snyder (121) suggests that the ability to

recognize and name correctly the feeling being expressed in a counseling sequence probably is not an indispensable ingredient, since experienced counselors cannot do this reliably. The task given the subjects, a clinical psychologist and fourteen graduate students specializing in this area, was to name in fifteen seconds the feeling involved in each of 144 client statements. The over-all agreement was rather low. About 50 per cent of the subjects agreed on as many as 50 per cent of the feelings Good counselors showed significantly more agreement than those not so good, but even among them there were individual differences in the frequency with which certain kinds of feelings were named. That is, one tended to prefer "Lack of Confidence" and "Self-defense," another "Insecurity."

Seeman (138) has shown that there are significant and consistent individual differences in the frequencies with which experienced counselors in preliminary interviews use different kinds of responses such as questions, responses to content, reflection of feeling, interpretations, suggestions, and information. However, in the study cited above (135), these differences turned out not to be related to favorableness of client reaction, whereas responsiveness was.

The ways in which various aspects of interview technique are related to one another and to outcomes have been studied in a coördinated research program at Ohio State University and reported by Robinson (124, Chap. 6). Most of these have also been reported in separate papers (Carnes and Robinson, 31, Davis and Robinson, 41, Elton, 48, and Tindall and Robinson, 162). Two factors make it difficult to summarize general trends indicated by these studies. One is that the number of categories becomes very large when one works with four types of interview—study skills, scholastic questions, therapy, and vocational problems—a number of counselors, several kinds of counselor technique, and several types of client response, simultaneously. The other difficulty in interpretation arises from the fact that many of the interviews were done by inexperienced counselors, and some of the examples Robinson cites lead one to suspect that they were rather superficial and not skillfully handled. Thus we do not know whether relationships found here would hold equally well for

situations more typical of professional counseling. A few conclusions can be drawn with some assurance. Carnes and Robinson (31) show that while the amount of talking done by the client is related to favorable outcomes in some kinds of interview units, in general it is only a minor criterion of counseling effectiveness and may well be a symptom rather than a cause of what is happening. Davis and Robinson (41) show that counselors use secondary techniques for reducing resistance more in units showing low rapport than units where it is high and more in units showing stronger "leading" by the counselor than in others. Again it is not clear which is cause and which is effect. Elton (48) shows that "responsibility-taking" by the client is correlated with favorable ratings for both "insight" and "working relationship." The technique they call "urging" accompanies the lowest ratings on "client responsibility." A much more detailed report of all the studies in this series is available in Robinson's book (124).

The desirability of voluntary consultation rather than required referrals has been brought out in two reports, neither very conclusive. Habbe (66) compared 50 cases coming to a psychiatric clinic in response to a well-planned newspaper story with 100 regular clients referred by community agencies. The self-referred were slightly superior in intelligence and schooling, and counselors felt they had a better attitude to begin with. Kirk and Headley (92) analyzed 110 cases who discontinued counseling before completion at the University of California Center in 1947. The interview material was not complete enough to identify the reasons for the failure to return, but the percentage of referred cases was unusually high in this group (44 per cent as compared with 28 per cent in the completed group). Williamson and Bordin (176) in the study cited in the previous chapter also found voluntary clients to be of a higher ability level than referred clients.

Evaluation. While much has been written about interview techniques, it is only during recent years that much research has been done to analyze them. A good share of this has been on therapy interviews specifically and will be summarized after Chapter VIII. Research results so far point to the importance of warmth and respon-

siveness rather than the value of specific procedures. Comparisons of referred with voluntary cases remind us that the attitude the client brings to the situation as well as the counselor's own attitude must be considered. Individual differences have been apparent in all studies. A procedure that works well with one counselee may antagonize another.

III

The Use of Records

Many schools have organized their guidance programs around systems of cumulative records. A folder for each child is kept through his school years, following him from school to school. The items of information it contains about his abilities, interests, school achievements, home background, special difficulties, attitudes, and behavior are intended to help members of the school staff who deal with him to see him as a person rather than simply a unit on the enrollment figures. It is customary for counselors to make use of these records when they are available. As many school personnel programs are organized, counselors are in charge of the records. Thus it is advisable that we examine in some detail the relationship of counseling to this other guidance technique.

At the outset we must recognize that much can be said against cumulative records as an adjunct to counseling. There is no doubt that they can be used in ways that prevent rather than facilitate good counseling. We shall examine these objections and difficulties first, so that in thinking about how to use records skillfully we can keep in mind the pitfalls to be avoided.

The most serious way in which they may interfere with the kind of process described in the previous chapter is by encouraging categorizations and snap judgments. Because they are made up of bits of factual information it is easy for the person reading them

to adopt the external frame of reference. It is then natural for him to classify the "case" according to his own psychological theories. For example, Mr. Gordon notes an IQ of 85 in the first section of a boy's file and says to himself, "That's it. Of course that explains the trouble George has been having. These low-IQ boys are always difficult to handle in regular classes." Because this diagnosis strikes him as so plausible it keeps him from noting in later sections of the record some evidences of a considerably higher degree of mental ability and blinds him during the interview to signs of anxiety over his appearance and social inadequacies.

As she goes over another record, Mrs. Barnes is impressed by the fact that Lucille's sister, eighteen months her junior, is in the same school grade. "No wonder Lucille is sulky and unhappy," she thinks. "She is obviously jealous of this sister who is brighter than she is. We'll have to see what we can do about getting them into different rooms." Because her mind is made up ahead of time she fails to grasp the complexity of the situation Lucille tries to describe in the interview, the mixture of love, resentment, and admiration she feels for her sister, her relationship with an older brother now at college, and her dreams of becoming a concert violinist. Later she wonders why the treatment she recommends, placing the two girls in separate homerooms, fails to help Lucille. She does not realize that it had no relevance to the whole pattern of the girl's attitude toward school and toward life.

These are extreme examples because they represent the making of a diagnosis from a single item of information. But even when many facts are brought together, it is still possible to fall into similar errors. Miss Larson, Dean of Girls at Lakeside High School, examines very conscientiously the material on Rose Borini, a ninth grade girl whom she has been asked to see because of repeated truancies and apparent lack of interest in school. The picture that emerges in her mind is something like this: "Rose is

a fifteen-year-old Italian girl from a laborer's family, the oldest of six children. Her intelligence, according to several tests, is within the average range, and until last year she has done satisfactory work in school, getting above-average grades in art and music. Previous teachers describe her as a pretty child, neatly though rather shabbily dressed. Entries from anecdotal records show that in the seventh grade boys were beginning to take an interest in her and she in them. No health problems are mentioned, and there is no record of any sort of delinquency." What Miss Larson makes of this is that Rose is probably a girl who has matured young and become more interested in dates and possibly in marriage than in academic work. She sees her role during any interviews they may have as one of convincing the girl that school has something to offer her, since the compulsory education law requires that she stay in school at least a year longer. She is also prepared to arrange any changes in schedule necessary to create more interest on Rose's part. To have this case clearly outlined in this way is a handicap only if it prevents the counselor from recognizing that there are other features much more important in the whole picture than the ones the written data have shown her. If she begins too soon to try to impress Rose with the value of school she may never find out that Mrs. Borini is an alcoholic whose condition has become increasingly serious as the years have passed, that Rose has gradually been taking upon herself more and more of the housework and care of the younger children, and that she is torn by the conflict aroused by her boy friend's insistence that she marry him and stop trying to carry the burden of the family. Such emotional material lies just under the surface and usually never gets into the cumulative record. Premature diagnoses, however comprehensive and reasonable they may appear, must be avoided if counseling is to encourage the expression of real feelings.

Another danger attached to cumulative record systems is the

possibility that damaging information from one period of an individual's life will be used against him at some later date. Many boys, for example, are involved at one time or another in minor delinquencies. To have down in black and white that eleven-year-old Charles stole twenty dollars from his teacher's desk may make it more difficult for him at the age of eighteen to get a job for which he is qualified, even if his reputation for honesty during the seven-year interval is unblemished. Janet, a bright, capable high school senior shows in her record that during her sophomore year she was sullen and unpopular, and made low grades in everything. If this information is used to disqualify her for the editorship of the school newspaper it will prevent her undertaking what might have been the most valuable experience of her school career. Such situations are particularly unfortunate because the student himself usually has no idea of what his record contains and thus is puzzled and resentful at being passed over for a post he had every reason to expect to get.

A third objection to these record systems is that the labor of filling in the information and keeping the files up-to-date becomes a burden on those who must do it. This happens because the nature of the information makes it inadvisable to utilize for the task the sort of cheap or volunteer student help upon which schools depend for much of their clerical work. We obviously cannot have Jane knowing the IQ's of all the other students in her homeroom—or their family circumstances. This means that some responsible member of the professional staff must spend a good deal of time on what is essentially a minor clerical task. In schools where teacher counselors are assigned this duty, the major part of the one or two periods a day they are allowed for their special guidance activities may be taken up by this task that is not counseling at all.

Having admitted that there are these difficulties in the use of cumulative records, however, we can see that it is not necessary

to discard the practice entirely in order to meet the objections. Knowing them is the first step toward overcoming them. The answer to the criticism that records encourage premature diagnoses is to select and train better counselors who will not stumble into this trap. As for the possibility that facts in the record may prove damaging to the individual, there are various ways of preventing this from happening. Some schools make a practice of going through the records at the end of each year and removing anecdotal reports of this kind. Control over the accessibility of the files so that placement officers are never allowed to see the records themselves is another method. Here again more psychological understanding on the part of *all* school personnel—teachers, counselors, and placement officers—will go far to prevent the misuse of information. The objection to the labor involved in maintaining records can be met if it is agreed that no school should embark upon any elaborate system without seeing the way clear to enough professional secretarial service to do the job. If teachers or teacher-counselors must do any sizable part of it, such work should be voluntary willing service that they give because of their interest in the program, not extra tasks assigned arbitrarily by an administrator higher up in the heirarchy. An undercurrent of resentment can cripple a guidance program more than the best of records will improve it.

If such precautions are taken, a cumulative record folder can be a most useful counseling tool. It can be read in such a way that it enables the essential processes of acceptance and understanding to function smoothly from the beginning of the first interview. The counselor can use it to help him "get set" for some of the things he may encounter and realize enough of the individual's peculiar problems and circumstances to adopt his frame of reference from the beginning. It is quite true, as was said above, that the problem he is prepared for may turn out not to be the real problem, and the facts that stood out most clearly in the

record may prove to be the least significant, but the *attitude* his intelligent and sympathetic reading has engendered is the attitude out of which good counseling comes. Without previous information, for example, the counselor might well have reacted to Jerry Cranston, a noisy, belligerent trouble-maker, in the same way that all his teachers do. Knowing that the boy has recently moved to the city to live with his grandmother after a much-publicized divorce case makes it possible to look *through* his behavior, as it were, and try to sense the attitudes behind it. It should be emphasized again, since confusion is likely to settle around this point, that this does not mean classifying Jerry in any predetermined category, child-of-divorced-parents. There should be no diagnosis, no plans for treatment, no abstract generalizations. The facts from the record simply serve the purpose of creating a friendly, accepting attitude toward the boy out of which will eventually grow a genuine understanding of just what this and the rest of his experiences have meant to him.

Another value of cumulative records is that they make it unnecessary to spend precious interview time in the collection of factual information. The whole interview hour is left free for the exploration of the psychological realities, the fears and hopes, the likes and dislikes. Some would say that it is only these things that have any effect on the person's life anyway, and that factual details such as age and IQ, economic status and work experience, can be ignored, but most counselors would agree that these facts do have to be considered when decisions are in the making. If we are to have them it is certainly more economical to keep them in a permanent file that grows with the person than to ask for them again and again. Counselors who worked with the Veterans Administration often rebelled inwardly at having to collect facts about a man's background that he had already given time after time to interviewers in the Armed Services.

How should a counselor read a cumulative record to prepare

him for an interview with an individual? It cannot be read like a book, starting with the first line and working through systematically to the end. It is necessary rather to bring together items from different sections and try to link up those that belong together. One should have in mind, as he starts, a rough outline of areas to be covered, such as family circumstances, abilities and achievements, interests, relationships to other people, and special difficulties. Then, depending upon how materials are arranged in the record, he turns to different parts of it to fill in the gaps. Under family circumstances he notes first the address where the person lives and pictures to himself the part of the city it represents. He tries to imagine how it would feel to live in the sort of tenement, cottage, or mansion that prevails in that area. He notices the father's occupation if the client is a student, his own if he is an adult. What standards, aspirations, and expectations for one's children tend to go with this occupational status? What are the characteristic attitudes of people in these circumstances toward school? In connection with this question he turns to another section where test scores are recorded. Are the individual's mental abilities and school achievements in line with the expectations of families like his? Is it possible that he feels himself to be a disappointment to them? Or does he perhaps feel himself superior to the surroundings in which he is growing up? How happy is the home? Here there are likely to be no entries unless conflict has been severe enough to lead to a divorce or to an investigation by some social agency. What about the person's relationship to other children in the family? Are his brothers and sisters older or younger, and how much? Are there older children or relatives of whom the family are particularly proud?

The counselor considers now in more detail the evidence with regard to the client's abilities and his understanding of them and reaction to them. He looks for scores on standardized tests, noting especially any developmental trends they show. Over a period

of years a sequence of IQ's running 120, 110, 94, 91, 85 suggests quite a different meaning from the sequence 95, 102, 98, 105, 100, although the average in both cases is exactly the same. The fluctuation in the second case is about what would be expected in view of the standard error of intelligence tests, but in the first case there appears to be a steady decline in comparative intellectual status. He tries to think of possible explanations for this drop and wonders about its effects on the person's total adjustment pattern. Test scores in reading and other school subjects are similarly scrutinized. There may also be some aptitude test scores in the file which can be used as an indicator of special assets and liabilities. (Test interpretation will be discussed in more detail in following chapters.)

The counselor never considers test scores by themselves. In connection with them he thinks about the school grades the client has received, again looking for developmental trends in over-all average and in particular subjects. Information about work experience is also pertinent. Has there been any consistency and continuity about these jobs? Have they been such as to leave any residue of skill? How about extra-curricular activities? Is there evidence for athletic, musical, or executive experience?

There may be no clues as to the person's attitude toward his own abilities, since this is the sort of thing that is more likely to show up in what he says than in facts and figures, but if there are any such indications they will help the counselor with his initial understanding. For instance, Bob's record may contain an anecdotal report of an instance when the boy refused to take a committee chairmanship. Does this mean that he lacks confidence in his ability to carry a task through? In Henrietta's case, the fact that a girl with an IQ in the 90's has made a consistent A and B record right up through high school suggests that she may be overestimating her own mental capacity and heading for trouble when she gets into college. Needless to say, such hypotheses must

be kept extremely flexible so that they can be modified during the interview if necessary. Bob's refusal may have meant nothing more than a lack of interest in the particular work the committee was appointed to do. Henrietta may be much brighter than the IQ indicates, or she may be bitterly aware of her mediocre intelligence and achieving the high grades through an extreme effort to make up for it. To have thought about these attitudes, however, is to be sensitized to whatever feelings do turn out to be present.

Still another kind of information the counselor will try to synthesize from the record has to do with the individual's interests. What have his enthusiasms been, in and out of school? Have some of them persisted over a period of years? In general, does he seem to be the sort of person who attacks any new activity eagerly but soon loses interest, or is he a person who always finishes what he starts? Tentative answers to these questions also may come from several different parts of the record—test, school grades, extra-curricular activities, work experiences, and anecdotal reports. Again the preliminary formulations must be tentative—a way of getting ready for whatever attitudes are expressed in the interview rather than of deciding ahead of time what those attitudes are.

The file may contain some indirect information about the client's relationship to his age mates. Developmental trends are again important. Is there anecdotal evidence from which periods of comparative popularity and unpopularity can be charted? Are there possible complications produced by physical deviations from the norm, such as smallness, fatness, or a bad case of acne? Does he get along well with girls? How many of the activities he has engaged in are things involving both sexes? Here too, as the counselor puts together these bits of information he tries to imagine how it would feel to be a person in these circumstances, with these physical characteristics and these kinds of social experience.

Problems and difficulties an individual has had are likely to be stated quite explicitly. Perhaps there has been a persistent reading handicap only to a limited extent overcome. Perhaps he has been a behavior problem constantly reported by teachers for infringements of rules. If there has been a chronic illness or a physical handicap, a foreign language background, a speech defect, or a traumatic childhood experience, it is obviously valuable for the counselor to know of it ahead of time.

In reading for the kind of general orientation we have been discussing, the counselor pays particular attention to discrepancies and conflicts. Why did this boy do so well in arithmetic and so poorly in geometry? How does it happen that his teachers all complain that he is lazy, whereas the proprietor of the grocery store where he works after school describes him as the best worker he has had on the job? If he is interested in public speaking, as he said he was in a questionnaire filled out in his homeroom, why did he refuse to take part in a school declamatory contest? With an IQ of 132, why isn't he making better grades? Why does he state "lawyer" as the occupation he would like to enter, and then not sign up for a college preparatory course? Innumerable questions of this sort can arise as one scrutinizes student files. Sometimes tentative answers are to be found in other sections of the available information. More often the questions become part of the mental background with which the initial interview is approached, the background which will make it possible to understand clearly the pattern of the client's experience.

Studied in this manner, a good cumulative record can facilitate both acceptance and understanding. It will often help with the initial ice-breaking stage by suggesting topics in which the client is likely to be interested. It may furnish warnings as to areas to be avoided at the beginning. Often when he has finished his preliminary study the counselor can make a tentative plan for beginning the interview. It would not, of course, be advisable for him

to plan the whole thing, as that might prevent his following where the client leads.

The problems involved in setting up and organizing a system of cumulative records are outside the scope of this book. A counselor who is called upon to carry out this personnel task will find a good discussion and many examples of forms that have been used in Traxler (165). It is better to limit the scope of the undertaking and include only the most helpful kinds of background material than to let the task of recording and filing become burdensome. It is preferable that items kept in this way be factual, objective, and non-judgmental rather than opinions of members of the school staff about students. It is obviously better, for example, to state simply, "John was kept after school for copying from Peter's algebra paper," than to say, "John is showing dishonest tendencies." The first allows anyone who really wishes to understand John to try to piece out a coherent picture of his motivation from this and other items of information. The second creates an unfavorable attitude before a new teacher or counselor even sees the boy. Similarly it is better for a teacher to write, "When the children choose up sides for a game, Gladys is always last to be chosen," than to say, "Gladys is the most unpopular child in the room." It is again a matter of internal versus external frames of reference. Items descriptive of an individual should be phrased so that they facilitate the seeing of the experience from the individual's own viewpoint.

In counseling programs for college students and adults, where very often the transfer of cumulative records from previous schools is not feasible, a substitute technique is the use of some sort of information blank to be filled in by the counselee himself.[1] Such blanks are designed to include much the same types of information as the cumulative records, and they have the advantage that facts must of necessity be presented from the

[1] See Appendix A for an example.

student's point of view. What the person puts down is what he is presumably willing to talk about in his own experience. Thus counselor and client have a common meeting ground. This method is obviously impractical for poorly educated clients.

One other technique that has been used in some counseling programs for somewhat the same purpose might be briefly mentioned. This is the autobiography. It may be written as an English assignment or a homeroom activity and thus not require extra time from anyone on the staff. Whether such papers are dry, stilted statements of fact unwillingly made or vivid expressions of significant experience will depend on how the assignment is made and on the morale of the class and the school as a whole. As a preliminary or adjunct to counseling the autobiography has the advantage pointed out in the preceding paragraph—it tells something about his life experiences from the counselee's own point of view and consists of things which he is presumably able to recognize and willing to talk about. Thus it may assist the counselor to handle the beginning stages of the interview smoothly. If Genevieve, for example, devotes considerable space to an account of her happy childhood years in a little town in Iowa, this may be the best topic with which to begin a conversation with her. It may easily and naturally lead on to a discussion of her main difficulty, about which she did *not* write in her autobiography, her loneliness and failure to make friends in the city where she is now living.

If autobiographies are required as a class assignment and are to be used in counseling, the purpose should be made clear to the students. They should know just who is to see their papers and whether or not they are to be filed in their permanent records. Only thus can the confidence on which counseling rests be insured and maintained.

We turn now to a consideration of the records to be kept of the counseling interviews themselves. One point upon which

counselors of all schools of thought agree is that fairly detailed notes should be kept so that the course of the previous interview can be reviewed before each new contact. Counseling is a process rather than a single event, and the only way one can sense the direction of movement is by knowing where one was at different times. Theoretically, perhaps, it might be possible for a counselor with a prodigious memory to keep the details of all his cases in mind without resorting to written records. Practically this does not work. The process of forgetting details and confusing one person's problems with another's sets in so soon after an interview that the individualized understanding we have been stressing is seriously impaired if notes have not been made.

The most complete and meaningful method is to make a sound recording of each interview and play it back to oneself before the next. More and more college counseling services are making this a standard part of the procedure for some of their cases. The sense of counseling as a process of growth and change is more easily obtained from these recordings than from any verbal account of what an interview contained, since such things as inflection, tone of voice, hesitation, and pauses all carry significance. Counselors in training find it valuable though often disconcerting to be able to observe the relationships between their own remarks and the client's reactions.

Some are likely to object that clients will be constricted in their expression if they know that a recording is being made. As a matter of fact this does not seem to happen. It would appear that freedom of expression depends so much more on a feeling of confidence in the counselor than it does on mechanical features of the situation that ordinarily, after the first few moments, a counselee pays no attention to the recording equipment. In some cases it even seems to make for a more constructive attitude on his part, since he feels that he is really being taken seriously and given the finest kind of professional attention. We are assuming, naturally,

that there is no secret about the matter. He is told as the interview begins that it is customary to make a recording which can be played back between sessions for study, and asked if he objects. If he does, it is of course not made. Just as in the matter of autobiographies and written records, since counseling success depends so largely on keeping attitudes free from suspicion and distrust, it is never advisable to make secret recordings. There would always be the possibility that the person might discover what had been done and feel that the counselor had taken an unfair advantage of him.

Because this is true, we are never sure that a recorded interview is exactly the same in its sequence and structure as it would have been had the recording not been made. It may well be that it is not. A counseling relationship is an extremely sensitive complex psychological entity. It seems likely that anything which is added or subtracted changes it to some extent. But, for practical purposes, this is a relatively unimportant issue. As has been repeatedly stated, there is no one standard counseling relationship. Each is unique, and the process of growth can occur in different settings. Recording the interviews may modify the situation, but it need not make it less favorable. The important fact has by now been substantiated by a large amount of evidence, the fact that successful counseling can take place through recorded interviews. The question as to the strict comparability of recorded and nonrecorded situations is an interesting research problem but is not crucial in clinical work.

Unfortunately, even if mechanical equipment for recording all interviews were available, which it usually is not, time schedules ordinarily make it impossible to handle this aspect of the work entirely in this manner. To do so means that for each interview there must be allowed at least twice as much time as it actually takes, since the replaying takes as long as the original conference.

Thus economy of time usually dictates the use of written notes which can be made and read through rapidly. The making of such notes is an important counselor skill.

Whether or not they are taken during the interview itself seems not to make much difference. Some counselors prefer to do it that way so that they can be sure of recording accurately in the proper sequence the topics that come under consideration. Others feel that to write while a client is talking interferes with the attention they wish to give to his words and expression. They prefer to jot down what has occurred as soon as the interview is over. Whichever practice is followed, there should be no secret about this affair. If the question comes up at all, the client should be told that the counselor keeps notes to help him remember what they have talked about.

What can be said about the nature of these interview notes? Naturally they cannot be standardized, since each counselor imposes upon them his own style. If we keep in mind their purpose we can see what their essential qualities must be. Their function is to enable the counselor to remember the interview over a fairly short period of time. Since he can trust his memory to supply the details once the necessary cues are given, what he needs most in the notes are these reminders that will touch off the memory process. The main topics that have been discussed should certainly be listed in the order in which they came up. Often it is important to include the nature of the transition from one to another. If something the counselor said produced the shift or was the occasion for a pronounced emotional response, then his remark as well as the client's reaction should be noted. Usually it is more essential to get down what the client talked about than what the counselor said. If any tentative decision or plan for action was made at the end of the hour, it should of course be in the record. Counselors working under the sort of pressure for time that exists

in so many agencies will have to learn to streamline the records, to use abbreviations as much as possible, and to sacrifice elegance of style to completeness of content.

It is much better, in the notes as in the interview itself, to avoid judgments, interpretations, and technical phraseology. Thus one would say, "Jim talked at length about his fondness for his mother," rather than, "Jim shows evidence of an unresolved Oedipus Complex." It is better to say, "Frances is concerned because the periods when she feels 'on top of the world' are always followed by periods of gloom," than to say, "Frances shows manic-depressive tendencies." "Horace told about his difficulty with the chemistry and geology courses required of pre-medical students," is to be preferred to, "The problem seems to be one of wrong vocational choice." If we are to maintain an internal frame of reference with regard to the person, to understand rather than to categorize, these differences in phrasing are not superficial or insignificant.

There is another reason also for keeping the interview notes free from judgments and interpretations. It is good practice to keep them open to the client's inspection if he wishes to see them. Not infrequently a question will arise about what was taken up during some previous conference, and the simplest way of answering is to turn to the notes taken on that occasion. The fact that he is allowed to see the record seems to give a client that confidence and freedom from suspicion that we have been emphasizing as the most favorable attitude for counseling. Client and counselor are seen as partners working from the same data.

In a school system that maintains a cumulative record file, a distinction must be made between these interview-by-interview case notes and the cumulative record itself. Case notes are for the use of the counselor—and at times of the client. They do not go into the file to be carried on down through the years. At the termination of counseling service to an individual, whether that

service consists of one interview or twenty, the counselor will write a brief report for the record. It will include a statement as to the nature of the problem, the nature of the treatment, and what was accomplished. If standardized tests were given as a part of vocational counseling either the scores themselves will be stated or information will be given as to where they may be found. Samples of these brief summaries as well as of the more detailed case notes are given in Appendix B.

With regard to all counseling records we cannot escape questions about who shall be given access to them. Theoretically the answer is simple and straightforward. When school administrators set up a cumulative record system they do it with the aim of helping all the people who must deal with a student to understand him better and thus individualize their treatment of him. This means primarily teachers, since they make up the largest proportion of a school staff and have more contact with students than anyone else. Ideally then, it should be easy for teachers to make use of these records. They should be filed in the classrooms themselves in the lower grades where one teacher has the same class all day, and in some convenient central location in the junior and senior high school so that all teachers can find them without red tape or delay.

But there is a danger here, as realistic school administrators and counselors are quick to point out when the subject comes up for discussion. It can easily happen under such circumstances that confidential information about students and their families becomes the subject of lunch-table gossip. Instead of helping to create attitudes of acceptance and understanding, talking about the facts in this way serves to generate unfavorable attitudes and to rationalize teaching failures.

"Of course Jack Koshevsky can't learn anything. His IQ is only 90, and look at the kind of family he comes from!"

"He isn't doing anything in my class either."

"I don't know why they keep boys like that in school. Let him get out and get some kind of laboring job. That's all he'll ever be good for. . . ."

The conversation goes on, relegating one child after another to the class of hopeless cases. It is quite true that if this is the use she is going to make of the information, it would be much better for Mrs. Sears not to know that Jack's IQ is low and that his family is of the "lower-lower" variety. But the remedy for this sort of difficulty would seem to lie in re-education of teachers rather than in secrecy about facts. The use of personal information as a basis for gossip and rationalization is highly unprofessional conduct. In a school where it is common the student will not find the help and encouragement he needs whether or not his record is kept secret. So if a counselor is required to work in a setting where malice and hostility flourish, his first job is to attempt to build up a personnel point of view in the school. What this means is a subject to be discussed in greater detail later. At this point it will suffice to say that denying teachers access to student records is a temporary expedient at best. In a school characterized by good morale and high professional ethics it will not be necessary.

This applies to the basic cumulative records but not, of course, to the counselor's own interview notes. It is generally understood that these are to be considered confidential. A student will ordinarily assume that this is the case without anything being said. If he asks about it, he can be assured that this is so. Occasionally special problems and conflicts arise in the carrying out of this policy. It is to these we now turn.

The first of these arises from the fact that in most places a counselor does not have the same legal status as a person in one of the older professions concerned with human relations—medicine, law, or the ministry. If it should happen that a client reveals information about an action which makes him subject to legal

prosecution and it becomes known that the counselor has such information, he can be forced to testify or be considered in contempt of court. This is a very rare occurrence. Only once in the author's eleven years of counseling practice have the police asked for a report on a case. In this instance the client, a kleptomaniac, was quite willing that she should testify, since information about the motivation behind his symptoms could only lead to better rather than worse treatment for him. However, rare as it is, the possibility of such a development is something every counselor should have thought through. There is no one right policy. One thing that can be done is to make clear to the client at the time he begins to bring up a matter of this kind just what the counselor's position is. He may then decide to keep silent about actions in which officers of the law might be interested. Whether or not he decides to go on, the counseling relationship will be modified to some extent by what has happened, but it will still have the clarity and honesty on which good outcomes depend. Under no circumstances must a client feel that he has been let down or betrayed.

The necessity for taking such special steps usually does not apply to incidents in the person's past life. It is a fairly common thing for a college student to tell of past delinquencies, thefts, vandalism, or sexual misconduct. These can be accepted in the same way as anything else he talks about, since the lapse of time makes it unlikely that they will ever get him into trouble.

There is another sort of conflict which bothers a counselor more than these rare cases when court action is involved. It arises from the situation in which he learns of some condition which calls for disciplinary action. Suppose he finds out that there is a little coterie of homosexuals in one of the dormitories or that cheating is rife in a certain class. Is it his duty to inform the proper authorities of these facts so that matters can be set right? If a poll were taken of counselor opinion there would undoubtedly be considerable disagreement.

My own answer would be "No." The risk that the counseling service could come to be regarded as an espionage agency is one which is too great to be taken, as it would rule out effective work from that time on. There are other channels through which knowledge of bad conditions can reach the authorities, and it is better that these channels be used. The counselee himself may decide to report the facts to the responsible officials. Another reason for the counselor to take no action himself is his realization that he is always working in the realm of attitudes and beliefs, not facts. What a client sees as homosexuality in his dormitory associates may only be a projection of his own desires. His belief that everyone else is cheating may be a rationalization of his own failure rather than an objective picture of what really occurs. As has been said before, the counselor is not in a position to sort out fact from fancy, and it is not important that he do so. It can only lead to confusion and complication if he drops this orientation.

In still another conflict situation the counselor sees in what a client has told him some reason to believe that a talk with some third person might improve a relationship that is giving the client a great deal of trouble. Is it advisable for him to go to this parent, sister, teacher, or friend of his counselee and tell him—in strictest confidence, of course—what is giving rise to the difficulty? Will this create a more favorable emotional climate for the individual outside the interview situation itself? Again there would probably be some sincere disagreement among counselors as to the best policy to follow. And again my own answer would be "No," at least if the client is an adolescent or adult. The point made in the preceding paragraph is just as relevant here. From what the person has said we know only what his psychological reality is. We do not get objective facts. Furthermore, even if such a conference with friend or relative is handled in the most tactful manner, the implied criticism of the way another person is dealing with a problem individual can easily lead to resentment

and defensiveness. If it does, the emotional climate will be made worse, not better. Another reason for avoiding this treatment of a problem is that it makes for ambiguity about the counseling relationship. A situation has first been created in which the client will see the counselor as a person who gives him support and understanding while he grapples with his own decisions. If now he learns that the other has been taking an active part in his affairs he is confused and no longer knows what his own role is in the situation. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, a problem in personal relationships that is discussed early in the course of the counseling process often turns out to be not the real problem at all. To accept a boy's complaints about his mother's domination as the basis for his difficulties before the whole complex structure of interlocking attitudes is made manifest may mean forfeiting whatever opportunity there may have been to change this structure. By the time it has been completely clarified it is quite likely that the boy himself will have handled the things that need to be changed without any necessity for the counselor's intervention.

In this as in many other areas, however, no absolutely hard and fast rule can be laid down. It is standard practice in children's clinics to interview parents, teachers, or any other individuals who are important in the child's life. There is no critical age below which parents should be called in, above which they should not. The considerations we have discussed constitute guides for the counselor, not directives. A useful rule is, "When in doubt, wait."

One thing that can be done in the cases of counselees who have reached the age of responsibility is to consult them before conferring with others and get their permission before releasing records. If Henry's abilities, interests, and desires all point toward a career in science and he is deterred only by his knowledge that his father is depending on him to take over the family business, the counselor might well ask, "Would you like me to talk

things over with your father?" If Henry welcomes the suggestion, as he probably will, an interview can be arranged at the father's convenience, perhaps a three-way conference at which Henry is present. This has the advantage of keeping the situation clear for all participants. The counselor will not argue with the father but simply make him acquainted with the facts about Henry's aptitudes of which he is not aware. If a parent comes to see the counselor on his own initiative, he can be allowed to talk over his attitudes and uncertainties with regard to his son or daughter but not given any confidential information. Afterward the client can be informed that his father has been in and the situation shifted to something more like the one previously discussed. Mutual confidence and understanding is the goal.

The foregoing discussion may well have given the reader an impression that the handling of confidential information is an individual matter, varying from case to case. Certain general principles, however, apply to all the cases. First, the counselor should constantly remind himself that his province is attitude and feeling rather than objective fact and that the counseling process works through attitude changes rather than modification of surroundings. Second, the client's faith in the counselor's integrity must be maintained. Third, the responsibility for decisions and action is in the client's hands and the structure of the situation should show clearly at all times that this is so. Within this framework of guiding generalizations there is considerable allowance for individual variation.

Since this chapter on the relationships between records of various kinds and the counselor's work has touched on a number of diverse types, it is well that we summarize at the end the ideas that are most important. First, the counselor uses records that have been kept by others to help him sense how life looks and feels to his counselee and thus to start the first interview smoothly and productively. Second, he keeps fairly detailed notes on each

interview for his own use, and at the conclusion of his counseling service to the individual writes a brief summary for the permanent record. Third, the general cumulative records should be available to all who deal with the student with proper safeguards to prevent misuse of the information they contain. Fourth, the counselor's personal files of confidential information should be open to no-one else, and in all but a few exceptional cases he should avoid making even oral reports on what they contain.

IV

The Question of Diagnosis

So far as the ways of preparing for and carrying through the first interview are concerned, counselors representing various viewpoints would not be likely to disagree too seriously. It is with regard to what comes next that one of the most basic differences arises. Once rapport has been established and the client has had an opportunity to explain the nature of his problems, what then? (This introductory stage may, of course, take several interviews rather than one, or it may be completed in fifteen minutes, but the issue is the same.) Until the rise of the non-directive movement it was assumed without much question that an important, if not the most important, part of the counselor's skill lay in making a diagnosis on the basis of which treatment for the individual could be intelligently planned. Rogers and his co-workers have very directly challenged this assumption. Because of the controversy on this point many an average counselor in a high school or college situation finds himself confused and puzzled as to what he ought to do.

To add to the confusion different meanings have become attached to the term "diagnosis" so that persons who argue over it are not always using it in the same way. In its simplest, most obvious sense it is a concept carried over into psychology from the field of medicine. The first step in medical treatment is to

label correctly the disease from which the individual is suffering. It seems reasonable to follow this example and give psychological treatment only after the condition causing the difficulty has been identified. In psychiatry, which of course is a branch of medicine, this has been standard procedure. Counseling is similar enough in its method and aims so that it has naturally attempted to do the same thing.

A closer scrutiny of this concept of diagnoses, which at first glance seems so obviously sound, shows us that it actually has little to contribute to psychological counseling. The principal difficulty is that in the situations with which we deal there is nothing analogous to a separate disease entity like tuberculosis, ulcers, or scarlet fever. Psychiatrists have pointed out that their categories—schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis, paranoia, and the others—are not like these either, since they are based on observations of symptoms that appear to be correlated, rather than on an understanding of causal factors. If one can object to psychiatric terms, he can object even more strongly to the use of labels for conditions within the normal range. They do not even come in reliable clusters. If we use "vocational indecision," for example, as a diagnostic label, it is difficult to see that any useful purpose has been served. There is an unlimited number of different combinations of attitudes and circumstances out of which vocational indecision can arise, and no standard treatment for the state of mind is known. Classifications of this type may be of some value in facilitating record-keeping and the writing of administrative reports. There their usefulness ends.

There is another use of the term "diagnosis" in books and papers on counseling which makes considerably better sense. Writers such as Williamson and Darley have thought of diagnosis as the whole comprehensive picture that the counselor develops of his client, his strengths and weaknesses, his interests and aptitudes, his past experiences and hopes for the future. This sort

of diagnosis becomes a crucial step in vocational and educational planning. When a counselor has succeeded in fitting into a coherent pattern all the information about a person that is available to him from many sources, including records, tests, and interviews, he is in a position to make a prediction as to what is likely to occur if the person decides in each of several different ways. If the prognosis in one of these directions is decidedly unfavorable he can interpose some treatment which will make it less likely that the client will make that choice. For a number of leaders in the counseling field, this is the essential task—this making of diagnoses leading to prognoses which in turn lead to wise decisions. They would not, of course, discount the importance of tact and skill in communicating information to the client, but they would place the emphasis on the thinking done before the decision interview begins.

Many smoothly functioning school counseling organizations and many training programs for student counselors have been built around diagnosis as a central concept. The whole Veterans Administration vocational advisement program after World War II embodied this philosophy more than any other. It has the virtue of bringing clarity and order into a very complex field. Furthermore, few would quarrel with the idea that it is good for a psychologist or educator to learn to fit many diverse items of information about an individual into some understandable pattern. Many workers feel that the ability to do this is one of their most indispensable skills.

There are, however, some rather serious objections to organizing counseling around diagnosis, even when it is of this thorough, skillful variety. For one thing, the textbook outline is far more clear-cut and uncomplicated than the procedure itself is. The trouble is that we do not really succeed in separating diagnosis from treatment and postponing treatment until all the information is in. This means that in some cases what we do in our attempt

to make a diagnosis may turn out to be the wrong kind of treatment. The act of taking tests and filling out questionnaires influences clients' attitudes in certain directions rather than others. A dependent or evasive individual may be less ready to face the real sources of his difficulties when he comes for his second interview than he was at the time of his first. The eight hours he has spent taking tests have reinforced his tendency to look to someone or something outside himself for decisions. Whether we like it or not, everything from the first moment of the first interview on is actually part of treatment. We cannot really isolate the diagnostic aspects from the rest.

A more serious objection to placing diagnosis at the center of counseling and organizing everything else around it is that we are accumulating more and more evidence that clinical predictions, no matter how experienced and skillful are the psychologists who make them, are not accurate enough to warrant their use as a basis for important life decisions. Several studies now testify to the fact that impersonal statistical predictions using a regression equation based on a few variables are more likely to be correct than are the best intuitive judgments based on all the information available.[1] We simply cannot trust our prognoses. We know very well, of course, that the statistical predictions are inadequate bases for crucial decisions. Seldom does a multiple correlation between a criterion and the optimally-weighted combination of predictors run higher than .60 or .70. Such a relationship between college success and test scores, for example, is very useful in setting selection standards if the institution doing the selecting does not mind rejecting a considerable number of students who would have done satisfactory work. But if one's concern is with the individual rather than the group, as the counselor's primarily is, this is not good enough. How is one to know

[1] Details of these studies are given in the research summary at the close of the chapter.

whether the course of this specific person's life is likely to follow the main trend indicated by the correlation coefficient or constitute one of the marked exceptions which its magnitude leaves room for? It is at this point that we have always fallen back on our clinical judgment. It is precisely this kind of judgment that has been called in question by the research studies to which we have referred.

There is still another objection to placing diagnosis and prognosis at the heart of the counseling process. It is the one which has been most stressed by the proponents of non-directive techniques. In order to make a searching diagnosis and evaluate prognoses in various directions, the counselor must adapt an objective third-person sort of attitude. That is, he must see the problem from an external frame of reference. This is quite a different approach from the one he takes during an interview, when he attempts to get the "feel" of the client's experience. It would not seem that the conflict between the two attitudes would need to be irreconcilable, since a large part of the diagnostic thinking goes on *between*, rather than during interviews. It is while the counselor is thinking over all the circumstances that have been recounted to him and trying to fit test scores and background information into a pattern that he must be objective and matter-of-fact. He can still "listen with the third ear" while the client is talking to him. A person is not confined to a single frame of reference but may shift from one to the other, if he wishes, at different stages of the counseling process. To Rogers and other non-directive workers, however, the necessity for such shifts is a handicap to be avoided if possible. On this point little actual evidence is available so far, but it is worth consideration because of its relationship to the whole philosophy of counseling.

We can avoid much of the controversy over the diagnosis issue if we abandon the term itself and turn our attention to some specific questions which are more likely to be answerable. At what

stage in a case is it necessary for the counselor to make a judgment with regard to it? What is the nature of the judgment that is required? What factors need to be considered in making it?

We have noted one such choice point typically occurring at the end of the first interview, although there is certainly nothing fixed about the time. This stage in the proceedings may be reached either sooner or considerably later, but the question that the counselor cannot dodge if he works for an agency to which many kinds of people go for help is, "Shall I continue with this case? Is this person likely to be benefited by counseling?" In large, specialized services, an intake interviewer may make this judgment. Unless a highly skilled individual is available for this special task it is probably better that the counselor do it himself.

The simplest type of situation leading to a decision to give no further service is that which can be classified under the heading of "No apparent problem." A high school counselor may schedule routine interviews with all the boys and girls for whom he is responsible. Only a fraction of them may need to come in again for any purpose during a school term. To identify that fraction and make sure that these individuals know that further services are available is an important part of the counselor's task, whether we call it diagnosis or not. A college counselor in the course of a year's work will also encounter a fair number of well-adjusted people whose plans are already satisfactorily worked out and who, in spite of minor difficulties, are handling their lives as well as they could be expected to. Often such a person will have come in out of curiosity or because of an enthusiastic recommendation by a friend or room-mate. Since the counselor realizes that he may have missed something and that it is quite possible for an individual's circumstances to change, he does not close one of these cases with an air of finality. Rather he will end the first hour in a manner that leaves the channel open but makes no definite arrangement for more interviews. He might say, for example,

"I'm glad you came in. You know where I am now. If anything comes up that you want to talk over I hope you'll make another appointment."

At the opposite extreme, counselors encounter with some frequency prospective clients who are so seriously disturbed as to place them outside the range of people they are equipped to help. Sometimes psychotic manifestations such as delusions, hallucinations, or bizarre schizophrenic thinking become apparent during the initial interview. The textbook disposition of such cases is simple. They are to be referred to a psychiatrist without delay. In practice it turns out that this is often more easily said than done. There are large areas of the United States where psychiatrists are scarcer than the proverbial hen's teeth. Even in places where they are available the expense of psychiatric treatment puts it out of the question for many people. Furthermore, the client may be horrified at the idea of such treatment since to seek it would involve an admission that something is seriously wrong. Because of these difficulties there is no solution always open to the counselor. Sometimes exploration of all the circumstances brings out the fact that the client is eligible for treatment at some free clinic such as the Veterans Administration Mental Hygiene Clinic. Sometimes voluntary commitment to a mental hospital can be arranged. It goes without saying that discussions of such plans should be carried on in an atmosphere free from alarm and as friendly and kind as that characterizing the rest of counseling activity. One should of course never give the impression, "Your case is too serious for us to handle," but rather, "Your problems are of a different sort from those we are set up to help people with, but perhaps we can work out an arrangement for you to see someone else who can help you."

The counselor should realize, however, that even if there is nowhere he can send the person for psychiatric treatment it is not advisable for him to work with psychotic cases himself. No matter

how skillful or knowledgeable he is, the circumstances under which he works are such that the treatment involves a considerable risk. Psychotherapy inevitably requires the breaking down of existing adjustment patterns in order that new ones may be created. To disturb whatever precarious organization a psychotic or near-psychotic individual has been maintaining is unwise unless he is in a controlled environment where the consequences of disturbance cannot possibly be harmful to himself or others. It is often hard, especially for a young counselor with high ideals, to close the door in the face of a person with serious problems. It is necessary to realize, however, that good intentions do not guarantee good results and that there are some people we cannot help.

A still more difficult decision is forced upon the counselor when he knows that the client's condition is extremely serious and that commitment to a mental hospital is the only satisfactory course. For him to take the necessary legal steps to bring this about involves the breaking of confidences and the reinforcing of the client's feeling that he is surrounded by enemies and can trust no-one. Again there is no single procedure that suits all cases. If the person can be persuaded to commit himself, it is the best solution. If members of his family seem likely to make the necessary arrangements, it is best to leave it to them. If the person's symptoms involve suffering for himself but no actual danger, it may be advisable to leave matters as they are, at least for a time. In some few urgent cases, it may be necessary for the counselor to take the initiative in commitment proceedings.

Such psychiatric problems constitute only a very small fraction of the counselor's work. A considerably larger fraction is made up of persons who would be described as neurotic. Whether the treatment of these individuals falls within the counselor's province will depend to some extent on his total counseling load and to some extent on his background of training and experience. In general it is best that they too be referred for psychiatric help

rather than continued in the counseling situation. But unfortunately there is no simple way of distinguishing neurotics from normal people in trouble. No red light flashes when neurosis appears upon the scene. A rule of thumb that proves useful is to note particularly the amount of emotional disturbance and anxiety over present conflicts that the individual shows. Counseling has a better prospect of success with the person who is confused and unhappy over his own characteristics and his relationships to others than it has with the person, outwardly much calmer, who has developed some marked neurotic symptom. A man who has learned and overlearned one or more of these stereotyped ways of reducing anxiety—a fear of enclosed places, a compulsive urge to attack a member of his family, or an hysterical paralysis of his right arm—requires a more potent form of psychotherapy than the student so anxious and worried about his unpopularity that he cannot sleep or work.

The decision not to continue contacts with a definitely neurotic client is easier to make if psychiatric help for the person is available. But here as with the psychotics it is important to realize that there are situations in which an effort to help an individual, no matter how well-intentioned it is, may leave him in worse condition than it found him. A neurotic pattern of adjustment is, after all, a form of solution to the person's problems. To unsettle this solution is hardly an ethical procedure unless there is a fair probability that he will be able to work out a better one.

In communities where facilities for psychiatric referral are in existence, the results of diagnostic tests such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, the Rorschach, and the Thematic Apperception Test will sometimes help the counselor to decide on whether or not to refer the client to the other agency. In such cases, the reason for asking him to take the tests can be presented clearly and without alarm at the close of the first interview. For example one might say, "The university, as you may

know, has a Mental Hygiene Clinic that is set up to help students with certain kinds of problem, just as we are organized to help them with others. I'm a little doubtful at this point whether you would get along better with them or with us. If you can spare the time to come in and take a couple of tests, it will help us to decide." He can be told that if the recommendation is that he see the psychiatrist at the Clinic the test results will be sent to that agency. Then the first appointment with the Clinic can be arranged from the counselor's office so that the client need not suffer a moment's uncertainty about the next step.

In places where psychiatric referral facilities are not available, the use of tests to help with the diagnosis of a neurotic or psychotic condition suspected to be serious is ordinarily ruled out by the nature of the situation and the basic ethical axiom that we must not leave the client in worse condition than we find him. To appreciate this fact, a counselor has only to put himself in the client's place for a moment. If a person who already has some doubt as to his normality or sanity is requested to take a test like the MMPI the experience is likely to reinforce those doubts. Whatever the counselor does afterward will be almost certain to increase the anxiety. This heightening of the anxiety may be no handicap if the condition turns out to be one which the counselor decides that he himself can treat. But if it appears to be a variety of maladjustment more serious than he wants to deal with himself there may be unfortunate after-effects whether or not any report on the test results is given. The client might conclude that things were far worse with him than he had thought if diagnostic tests indicated that he was beyond the reach of counseling.

It is only by constantly putting himself in the other person's place that the counselor can make distinctions like this one as to when diagnostic tests are feasible and when they are not. Adopting this point of view will also enable him to phrase his explanations of why further appointments are not recommended in such

a way that they will not frighten a client or give him an impression that his case is hopeless. It is quite possible to combine honesty and realism with kindness and consideration. To one person, for example, he may say, "What people with problems like yours usually need most is a chance to talk things over at considerable length with a psychiatrist. It often takes several months of interviews several times a week to bring about a change. We don't have the facilities for that sort of service here, but in a year or two, when you are out of college and earning your living, you can probably arrange it. Meanwhile if you go on as you are it is not likely that things will get any worse, and you have shown that you can accomplish things in spite of the handicap." To another he may need to explain, "I know how hard it must make things for you to have to struggle against this fear of crowds all the time. But a fear like that is tied up with the rest of one's personality in such a complicated way that it isn't usually possible to get rid of it without spending a great deal of time untangling the whole skein. So for the time being perhaps the only thing to do is put up with it. If it ever gets enough worse to warrant the expense and trouble, you will want to consult a good psychiatrist who is experienced in helping people with such problems."

It is especially difficult to turn down these cases of serious maladjustment when they have been referred by a faculty member or personnel officer of the school of which the counseling service is a part. The counselor can hardly help feeling that the person who made the referral will say, "What good is a special service of that sort if it can't help the very students who need it most?" Thus he is put on the defensive or perhaps feels a little guilty about the whole thing. The main thing to keep in mind is that another person's expectations cannot constitute an adequate basis for a counselor's decision. In many cases it may be possible for him to explain to the colleague who sent the student to him what the reason for the termination of counseling was. Such explana-

tions can lead to better referrals and sounder public relations in general.

Besides the cases which the counselor decides not to continue because they are too serious or not serious enough, there is a third category of one-interview cases. These are the ones in which some treatment other than counseling seems indicated, at least to start with. One example is the person whose symptoms point in the direction of organic disease requiring medical care. Another is the student whose low grades seem to be accounted for by a severe reading disability. Still another is the college freshman with a percentile rank of three on the college aptitude test who is considering giving up college and getting a job because his grades are so low. The boy with the reading handicap can be put in touch with some agency giving intensive remedial training; the low-aptitude freshman can be confirmed and encouraged in his decision to go to work. An adolescent who is at sword's point with his homeroom teacher and is petitioning for a change may simply be allowed to transfer to another group where the outlook for him is more promising. The girl with too heavy a load of course work for her ability can be permitted to drop one subject.

In all these instances, the counselor is not really recommending some non-counseling treatment. All he is doing is to concur in the individual's own proposal that he try something else first. There is a subtle but probably important difference between the two things. In order to have grounds for recommending something as a solution to the problem presented, he would need to know much more about the individual than he can possibly know at the end of one interview and even then, as we have seen, his judgment might be wrong. Furthermore, for him to make a recommendation to the authorities for a change of homeroom or living quarters is to give the relationship with the client a structure that will not be favorable for later counseling in case it turns out to be necessary. He must not get himself typed as "the person

who tells you what to do" or "the person who gets you out of trouble" if he wishes to create a situation in which it is clear that the client makes his own decisions and accepts the responsibility for his own mistakes.

He can, however, accept the person's decision to try some other way of coping with his deficiencies and still leave the way open for counseling if this does not work. It often turns out this way. Languid, apathetic, obese Sharon Logan may indeed have a thyroid deficiency which medical treatment can help, but it does not rule out the possibility of psychological complications. After her basal metabolic rate has been brought up to normal she may still be unable to meet academic or social competition, still held back by crushing feelings of inferiority. Whether she then returns for the counseling she needs will depend partly on what was said at the close of the one interview she had with the counselor. The student with the reading handicap may still be unable to concentrate on his essential science courses even after tests indicate that his speed and comprehension are within the normal range. The high school boy may soon find himself as much at odds with teacher and classmates in the homeroom to which he has transferred as he was in the one from which he escaped. Thus it is well in these cases where no arrangements are made for more than one interview that the counselor show by his words and expression that he will welcome the client back if need arises.

As has been mentioned earlier, this sorting-out process, the act of separating those who are immediately to be given further service from those who are not, is a more important feature of the work of some counselors than of others. In a college with a number of specialized personnel departments the functions of which are well-known to the students, most of the sorting out may be accomplished by the students themselves. Those who wish help with vocational and educational decisions will come to the Counseling Center. Those with serious emotional problems will con-

sult the Psychiatric Clinic. Those who need remedial work will apply to the appropriate agencies. This system, however, never works with one hundred per cent accuracy, and in the more general, undifferentiated situation where probably the majority of high school and college counselors work, the necessity for some differentiation between the students they are equipped to help and those they are not is an inescapable responsibility. The heavier the load, the more urgent the need for this activity.

There is another variety of decision the counselor may be required to make at about the same time, usually by the end of the first interview. This is the decision as to whether any tests are to be taken by the client. Controversy over the use of tests in counseling has existed for a long time, but out of it has come a considerable measure of agreement on the general value of test information in helping with vocational and educational decisions. (See Chapter XII.) In the beginning of the vocational guidance movement, guidance consisted mainly in disseminating information about jobs so that young people would have a more adequate basis for choosing from among them. With the rapid development of psychological tests after World War I the importance of analyzing individuals as well as jobs began to be stressed. During the twenties and thirties many workers argued vehemently against testing on the grounds that the reliability and validity of these techniques were very inadequate. The reply that test users could and did make to this charge was that *other* bases for vocational decisions were even less valid and reliable. They argued that by combining test results *with* the other sources of information the errors likely to arise from either technique could be avoided. Gradually enough data accumulated in follow-up studies to furnish dependable evidence that this was true—that sounder vocational decisions could in fact be made with tests than without them.

With the rise of the non-directive movement in the forties

another sort of objection became prominent. This was that the use of tests had the effect of giving the counseling relationship the wrong structure, that it encouraged the client to look to someone else for the answers to his questions instead of working out answers for himself. Since the counselor is the person who chooses tests and interprets what scores mean, the client sees his own role as that of taking advice from an expert rather than as that of endeavoring to think maturely about his own life. Discussions of this issue have led to the trying out of new ways of incorporating testing in the counseling process without authoritative structuring. As evidence has accumulated that these methods are feasible this objection also has lost much of its weight. There seems now to be no reason why the values coming from both test information and a client-centered attitude cannot be combined in the facilitation of vocational and educational decisions.

There is no incompatibility in the two approaches if we think of testing in terms of information for the use of the client rather than diagnosis by the counselor. In deciding whether or not the opportunity to take tests should be presented to a client the basic question is, "Does he really need more information about himself?" In discussing the conduct of the first interview we stressed the acceptance and understanding on the part of the counselor which help to make it possible for the counselee to accept and understand himself. It is important to realize that the contribution tests make is to the "understanding," not to the "acceptance" aspect of the process. Intelligently chosen and interpreted, they can show the person what some of his important characteristics are, but they can do nothing to help him come to terms with what he finds in himself. Thus if his problem lies primarily in unhappy self-attitudes, the exploration of these should probably take precedence over the accumulation of more facts which it is unlikely he will be able to accept when he gets them.

In specific cases, how is the counselor to know whether or not

the person can profit by taking tests? In the first place, he can place some weight on the amount of information already available. Some students who request vocational counseling will have had intelligence and achievement tests at previous educational choice points and will have taken also a variety of special aptitude and interest tests. Such information may be filed in the person's cumulative record folder and he may or may not know about it himself. In other cases an applicant may have had some previous vocational testing and counseling, be able to report in some detail on what the test scores indicated, and still be as undecided as he ever was. This is an indication that it is not really test information that he requires and that further testing might only prolong the period in which he tries to fasten the responsibility for a decision on something outside himself. In still other instances so much information from non-test sources may exist that testing seems irrelevant. A high school boy who has spent the last five summers in his uncle's garage, has demolished and rebuilt a Ford of his own, and spends all his spare time working with engines does not need mechanical aptitude or interest tests. In the choice of a field of specialization there may, of course, be other questions to which tests might help him find answers. It may, for example, be important to ascertain whether he is good enough at mathematics to consider mechanical engineering rather than auto mechanics as an occupation.

Another obvious but often-neglected point to be considered in deciding whether to test or not is the question of whether there *are* any tests which will tell this particular individual the things he wants to know. We do not have an assortment of psychological tests covering all the important human traits even in the limited sphere of vocational adjustment. There are any number of doubts that young people bring to counseling which cannot be resolved by means of tests. What are my chances for success as a real estate salesman? Do I have enough art talent for a career in industrial

design? Am I better suited to mechanical or electrical engineering? If I become a junior high school teacher, will I be able to handle the discipline? Have I the right kind of personality for social work? Are my aptitudes more like those of barbers or bakers? These are all legitimate informational questions. If there were clear-cut, objective measures of the traits involved, decisions could be made with less difficulty and the counselor's task would be much easier than it is now. But we do *not* have such tools and it is only honest to say so when clients raise the issues. They should know that decisions on such matters have to be based on other kinds of data—things like success in related courses, try-outs in similar jobs, and general attitudes toward the kinds of task involved.

To what extent should the client's own request govern the decision about tests? At first glance it might appear that in any thoroughly client-centered program this should be the deciding factor. However, the situation is not quite so simple as this. More important than the literal meaning of the words, "I'd like to take some aptitude tests," is the feeling that lies back of them and the wish that prompted the person to speak them. It has already been emphasized repeatedly that it is these attitudes upon which attention is focused in the interview. Therefore it is the counselor's duty to accept this statement in the same way in which he accepts everything else the client says, responding to it in such a way as to encourage the clarification of the motivation behind it. The appropriate response if the interview begins in this way is not, "All right. We'll make an appointment for you to come in for testing tomorrow," but rather, "O.K. You might tell me a little more about yourself and what you would like to find out." Notice too that it is better to say it this way than to ask directly, "What do you want to take tests for?" since such a question is likely to arouse defensiveness.

The situation is somewhat different at the end of an interview

in which *both* lack of information and difficulties in accepting what the person does know of himself have become apparent. If he decides at this point that he would like to find out what tests can tell him before doing anything else, his decision should be respected, provided, of course, that there are tests that will tell him what he wants to know. It is not necessary that lack of information be the whole problem. If it constitutes any part of the difficulty, tests may be useful. These cases in which doubts about one's real abilities and interests are tied up in some complex way with conflicting self-attitudes actually constitute a large part of a counselor's work. There is no reason why we should either leave the person in doubt about his strengths and weaknesses in order to focus on the personal conflicts or ignore the attitudes and try to force a decision on the basis of objective evidence alone.

The counselor's function here is primarily clarification. He should try to make it possible for the client to *choose* what he wishes to do next rather than simply to wander into the course that he happened to see first. He may explain it in some such way as this: "A person who is trying to come to important decisions often finds that it helps to talk over all his feelings about it in the way we have been talking during this past hour. It also helps, when a person isn't sure just what his greatest strengths and weaknesses are, to take some tests that show how he stands in comparison with other people. We can make arrangements for you to do either one of these things next. If you would like to come back for another talk next week, we'll make an appointment for it now. If you think you'd better get some new information about yourself first we can decide right now what tests you want to take and when it will be convenient for you to come in for them." The warmth and friendliness in the counselor's tone and manner will make it plain that the help and support the client came to find are there whichever course he decides upon.

Not infrequently it happens that a client who asks first for

tests is in reality seeking something quite different. If they concentrate on his meaning rather than his words this will become clear to both participants as the interview proceeds. The first request will then become irrelevant. One young man, obviously deeply troubled, came to the college counseling office asking to be given a Rorschach Test. As the interview went on and he came to trust the counselor more he explained that for years he had been tortured by doubt as to whether he was basically heterosexual or homosexual in his outlook. He had hoped that a Rorschach would give him a clear answer so that he could stop struggling with the problem and with all the other problems of personal relationships that arose from it. When it was explained to him that there was no test which would furnish him with such a clear unequivocal verdict, but that counseling could perhaps help him find a way out, he was more than willing to come back for more interviews rather than to be given what he had at first asked for.

Another student, a brilliant girl majoring in languages, asked to take some tests because she was "curious about them." She went on to tell how she had taken dozens of IQ tests during her childhood years and that she still volunteered whenever possible to act as a subject for psychology students struggling to meet their course requirements in testing practice. As her ideas developed in the favorable atmosphere of the counseling room she found herself putting into words something she had never really faced before. She admitted that she had been troubled for as far back as she could remember by a haunting sense of inferiority. High test scores and outstanding academic successes served to hold it in check but did not dispel it. There was always somewhere in the back of her mind a feeling she knew to be absurd but could not get rid of—a conviction that she was not really the brilliant person people gave her credit for being and that someday she would be unmasked. Out of this state of mind came both the compulsion to keep taking tests and the motivation to keep study-

ing. Each time some new person would tell her how well she had done it would reassure her for a little while, but each time the old feeling would eventually return in full force. By the end of the first interview she had realized that what she wanted was not just to go through the old reassurance-discouragement cycle once more but to come to grips with the inferiority attitude itself. It was not necessary for the counselor to do anything about the request for testing which she had made in the beginning.

We have tried in this chapter to avoid the difficulties that have grown up around the diagnosis issue by giving up the idea that the counselor's main business is prognosis, and shifting our attention to specific decisions which he does find it necessary to make. In disposing of the diagnosis in this way, have we lost sight of anything important? The vocational guidance expert may feel that we have. If the counselor refuses to pass judgment on the facts and make the best prognoses that he can, is he not simply shifting the burden to the client's shoulders and thus demanding that predictions be made by someone much less qualified than himself to make them with any accuracy? We would agree that a very essential part of the vocational counselor's task is the synthesizing of test results, background information, and expressed attitudes into a coherent, understandable whole. But this need not be regarded as diagnostic activity and it need not lead to definite predictions. If the counselor can convey his synthesis to the client and enable him to assimilate it, the decision that finally crystallizes out need not be the one occupation or educational plan carrying the best prognosis. It will be instead a course of action *for which the client is completely willing to take the consequences*. If we adopt the point of view that has been outlined here, we see the aim of decision-making interviews as responsible action rather than successful adjustment.

The objection might also be raised that we have been regarding the problem of diagnosis too exclusively from the standpoint of

the individual client and counselor. A first step in the carrying out of certain types of *research* is a diagnostic system for categorizing cases. This becomes apparent when we consider the argument often brought forward in favor of diagnosis, that it enables an eclectic worker to suit the treatment to the condition. Unfortunately for the argument, we do not know enough about the relationships of specific treatments to specific types of difficulty to enable anyone to do this very intelligently. It may well be, however, that in order to increase our knowledge in this area we shall have to agree to use certain diagnostic categories, at least for the duration of a research project. To handle research cases in accordance with a research plan need not be incompatible with the general point of view we have been presenting. Some progress with the formulation of a suitable set of categories for such purposes has already been made. It is quite possible that new knowledge resulting from such studies may eventually modify the decision-making procedure. It is only for the present that it is recommended.

In all that we have said about the way in which these decisions are made there is implicit an underlying philosophy that can best be phrased in terms of concepts developed in Lippitt's often-cited experiment on social climates. Counseling succeeds best when it steers clear of the autocratic attitude on the one hand and the laissez-faire on the other. To apply the democratic attitude to the counseling situation means to view it always as a coöperative venture in which the two participants are making contributions of different sorts. The client alone has the keys which can unlock the inner chambers of his experience. The counselor may help make it possible for him to find and use them but he cannot furnish them. The counselor, on the other hand, has access to much more information of various sorts than the client has. Two such kinds of information have been discussed in this chapter—treatment facilities and their limitations and mental tests and

their interpretation. He brings this information into the interview as there is need for it. Out of situations in which these two sorts of contributions are fused in complex ways, decisions come which seem sound to both counselor and client. The fact that something can go wrong, that a client can refuse to do his share or that a counselor may occasionally have to make a unilateral decision, does not alter the fact that this is what the process is like when it is working well.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

We have recommended cutting down to a minimum the amount of diagnostic and prognostic activity a counselor should attempt to do for three reasons: (1) that the obtaining of information for diagnostic purposes may constitute the wrong kind of treatment, (2) that "clinical judgment" is not a very dependable faculty, and (3) that a diagnostic attitude interferes with the kind of attitude and relationship a counselor needs to show. On the first and third of these points there seems to be no research evidence, and it is around them that controversy usually centers. On the second, however, there has been accumulating an impressive amount of material.

There is evidence, first of all, that psychiatric diagnosis is highly unreliable. Ash (8) reports on 52 white males (predominantly cases of personality difficulties rather than neurosis or psychosis) who were examined independently by two different psychiatrists. In 35 of the cases there were three psychiatrists' judgments. When analyzed by specific diagnostic categories, there were only 20 per cent of the cases in which all three agreed, 49 per cent in which two agreed, and 31 per cent where no agreement was shown at all. Analyzed according to major categories, agreement was better but still far from impressive, all three agreeing in 46 per cent of the cases, two agreeing in 51 per cent, and no agreement being shown in 3 per cent. Mehlman (104) has documented this unreliability in another way by showing that there are significant differences in the frequencies with which psychiatrists use the various categories, such as schizophrenic and

manic-depressive, when cases are assigned at random, making it unlikely that there is any systematic difference in the samples of patients being interviewed. Eysenck (50) has summarized some other data bearing on this point.

There is some evidence also that psychiatric *prognoses* with regard to treatment outcomes have little validity. Schofield, Hathaway, Hastings, and Bell (134) have been conducting a large-scale study on the basis of follow-up interviews with men and women treated at the University of Minnesota Hospital during the period 1938 through 1944. Out of 1,638 schizophrenics, 77 per cent were located. The report shows that very few items in the case records have even a promising relationship with post-hospital adjustment.

Studies using more specifically psychological techniques have had little better success than the psychiatric predictions. While there are such reports as those by Harris and Christiansen (72) and Rosenberg (129) that some test techniques appear promising for predicting response to therapy, the comprehensive review by Windle (180) of 183 attempts to use psychological tests in psychopathological prognosis furnishes no clear-cut evidence of the usefulness of any prognostic indicator. Conflicting, even contradictory results have been reported by different investigators using the same test and most of the relationships that appeared at first to be significant have not held up under cross-validation.

Turning to studies where attempts have been made to predict for subjects within the normal range we find the same negative evidence on the validity of clinical judgments. Sarbin (132) asked counselors to predict the grade averages of freshman students they had interviewed. Test results were of course available to them. At the same time an "actuarial" prediction of each student's grade average was computed from a regression equation previously worked out using high school rank and college aptitude test score. The difference in the correlations between predicted and actually obtained grades was not significant when the "clinical" and "actuarial" predictions were compared. What little difference there was favored the actuarial predictions. Davis (40, p. 57), summarizing a number of investigations

in the armed services, reaches a similar conclusion. "Subjective evaluation of empirical data appears to add little or nothing to the accuracy with which personnel can be selected on the basis of suitable objective tests."

By far the most thorough study so far of this problem is the one reported by Kelly and Fiske (89, 90) on the prediction of success in the Veterans Administration clinical psychology training program. Trainees were put through an assessment program which included a large number of clinical techniques such as projective tests, intensive interviews, role-playing and leaderless group situations, in addition to many sorts of objective tests and personality inventories. Unusual care was taken to obtain reliable criteria of success in the clinical activities themselves as well as in course work. The most striking finding was that ratings based on the credentials files and objective tests alone were about as good predictors of clinical success as those based on much larger amounts of material. While the intellectual aspects of the work trainees did could be predicted moderately well, correlations were low with the criterion ratings on the more specifically clinical aspects of their performance. Few of them were higher than .3, no matter how much information and expert evaluation went into them. It is perhaps significant also in this connection that "diagnostic competence" as a criterion variable seemed to be particularly difficult to define. Ratings of the trait showed zero correlation with tests which were expected to measure it. Predictive variables that were correlated with the tests did not correlate with the ratings. Sundberg (156) has found a similar ambiguity of relationship between rated diagnostic competence and tests designed to measure "knowledge of other people." If psychologists cannot use their clinical judgment to make valid prognoses about clinical work itself it seems unlikely that they will be able to make them in areas about which they know much less.

In the counseling field specifically, Pepinsky (115) has shown that diagnostic categories can be developed upon which counselors will *agree* fairly well. These are: Lack of assurance, Lack of information, Lack of skill, Dependence, Cultural self-conflict, Inter-personal self-conflict, and Intra-personal self-conflict. Choice-anxiety was also in-

cluded, but there were only two cases falling under this heading in the series analyzed. The principal utility of these diagnostic categories at present would seem to be as a tool in various kinds of research study. It has not been demonstrated that their use promotes more effective work in the practical counseling situation.

Evaluation. We can hardly escape the conclusion that clinical predictions are too inaccurate to serve as the basic core around which counseling is to be organized. Diagnosis, in the sense of classification of problems presented by clients into broad meaningful categories, has been shown to be feasible, but as yet no evidence has been presented that different types of treatment corresponding to these categories can be distinguished.

V

The Use of Tests

APPLICATION OF MENTAL TESTING PRINCIPLES TO THE COUNSELOR'S WORK

It may appear superfluous at the beginning of this discussion of the use of tests in counseling to state that it is essential for the counselor to have a thorough knowledge of tests before he uses them, and that a good course in mental measurement is an indispensable part of his basic training. The point is made because school administrators and counselors themselves, especially those who have started as teachers, are prone to neglect it. They assume that introducing a "testing program" into a school system takes care of all their needs. This assumption grows out of a misconception as to the nature of mental tests. They are not comparable to the laboratory blood tests which the physician can make use of without knowing how to do what the technician did in obtaining them. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the way to embark upon a "testing program" is to employ someone who knows all about tests.

We are taking it for granted in this chapter and the next that the reader already has this fundamental knowledge—that he understands the concepts of standardization, reliability, and validity, that he knows the statistical techniques basic to the inter-

pretation of different kinds of scores, and that he has a wide acquaintance with specific tests in common use. We assume that he has developed the habit of scrutinizing manuals furnished by publishers and can sort out the important from the unimportant facts they contain. We assume also that he is familiar with reference books in which he can locate without too much delay any of the data he needs in making interpretations and evaluations. (A number of excellent reference works are now available. These are listed in Appendix C.) The purpose of this chapter is to single out of the mass of information the things that are relevant to the problems confronting the counselor as he chooses tests and interprets their results.[1]

The most important concept in mental measurement is the concept of validity. Students in elementary psychology courses learn that a test is valid to the extent that it measures "what it purports to measure." It is more helpful for the counselor to state it as a simple, straightforward question: "Just what *does* this test measure? What sort of human characteristic does it get at?" He can then proceed to scrutinize the available evidence in order to find out. What he looks for mainly is correlations with various criteria, but supplementary evidence often comes from differentiation in the means of separate groups. The more of such relevant data he finds the more illuminating the results of this test will be as he uses it to evaluate the characteristics of individuals.

This leads to a generalization of considerable importance. For counseling purposes old tests are better than new ones. The rule holds only within limits, of course, and exceptions constantly arise, but it is still essentially sound. A test can never be pronounced valid on the basis of a single research study, or even two or three. It is only after it has been tried out in many situations

[1] The question often arises as to what should be done about counseling programs in high schools and small colleges where no-one has this testing competence. The answer is simply to postpone the introduction of testing into the program until someone has equipped himself to handle it.

and its relationship to many criteria ascertained that we are in a position to say much about what a score means. For this reason tests like the Minnesota Clerical or the Minnesota Paper Form Board are far more meaningful to the counselor than newer tests of clerical and mechanical aptitudes, even though these may have some advantages in convenience or attractiveness of appearance. It is only recently that the amount of knowledge based on experience with the Kuder Preference Record has given it even approximately the value of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for situations in which either one could be used. What makes scores on any test meaningful is the total background of information with regard to what such scores have been shown to predict. The test must *have* this background; the counselor must *know* it.

If it seems that we are getting away from a client-centered point of view because we are discussing solely the counselor's mental activity, it can be said that this orientation calls for an especially penetrating and thorough knowledge on his part if he is to bring tests into the picture at all. This is because the aim of imparting information to the client which he can use in his own thinking necessitates a clear precise statement about the meaning of a test score that a person simply cannot make if he lacks clear precise knowledge about it. Simply to hand a client a list of scores and leave him to draw his own conclusions is the worst sort of laissez-faire procedure and cannot possibly achieve any useful result. Techniques for formulating and presenting test results will be discussed in the next chapter. Underlying them is the necessary assumption that the counselor understands what he is trying to formulate.

The other aspect of data on validity with which the counselor must come to terms is the *magnitude* of the reported correlations between test and criteria. In no case are such coefficients anywhere near the 1.00 level which would permit completely accurate prediction of criterion from test. Most reported validity coefficients

fall within the range from .40 to .60. Some are even lower. One who has examined carefully scatter plots representing typical correlations of about this size can readily see that they necessitate two sorts of adjustment in our thinking about the meaning of any *individual* score. First, some inaccuracy is to be expected in all predictions we make. If we are trying to forecast scholarship from an intelligence test we do not really expect a person to achieve exactly the grade point average toward which his test score would point. Secondly, where the correlation is no higher than this, there are always a few *marked* exceptions to the general trend of the relationship. It follows from these facts that an individual who receives an extremely high or low score is less likely to go wrong by taking it at approximately its face value than is one who gets a score within the middle range. For example, if a boy scores at the 99th percentile on a mechanical test known to correlate to the extent of .50 with success in shop courses, there is room for a considerable discrepancy between test and criterion in his case without his falling below an average grade in the course. He then can trust this high score as an indicator that he probably will succeed in courses of this kind. If he scores at the 49th percentile on the same test, however, the meaning is considerably less clear. We know because of the only moderate correlation that his grades are quite likely to differ in some degree from his test performance. What we cannot know is whether the discrepancy will be in an upward or downward direction or whether he is one of the majority for whom it is small or the minority for whom it is large. Considering all these things together we can see that while this looks like an *average* score there is a real possibility that instead of an average performer this boy may be either an outstanding success or an abject failure. The inescapable conclusion is that with validity coefficients of the size they usually are, scores that turn out to be near the average are of very little informational value. It is primarily the low and the high ones by which we must steer

our course. The nearer any score is to the average of the group the less specific is our understanding of what it means to the individual. It is obvious that we cannot expect a client to know this as he tries to use test results to increase his self-understanding. Whether he draws sound conclusions will depend upon the way in which we present the results to him. That is why we must clearly understand this limitation ourselves.

One more caution should be given with regard to what is ordinarily called "face validity," the superficial resemblance of test situation or materials to those of real life. Among persons whose business is the construction and standardization of tests it is commonplace knowledge that this is not to be trusted as an indication of what a test measures, although there are situations, such as in Civil Service testing, where it is desirable from a public relations standpoint to pay some attention to it. Face validity is not an important consideration in counseling since, with good rapport established, a client is usually quite willing to take the counselor's word for the fact that a test measures something it does not appear to measure. Thus there is little reason for a counselor to judge tests on the basis of face validity at all. It cannot be denied, however, that there is a strong temptation to do so. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are large areas in which no well-validated tests exist. When we find among publishers' samples tests that *look* as though they might measure these traits which we should like to be able to assess, we feel an urge to try them out. We should check this tendency. An individual's life decisions are too serious to be even partially determined in this way. A boy who decides not to take advantage of a promising opportunity in a store because of a low score on an unvalidated test of "sales aptitude" is taking a step on which much of his future life may depend. We must remember that *he* has no way of knowing that this test is less trustworthy in predicting selling success than the ACE is in predicting college scholarship. The distinction we make

in our thinking between validated and unvalidated tests is one of the main lines that can be drawn between professional psychological service and quackery.

The second consideration in test construction and interpretation which is of particular concern to the counselor is the matter of norms. All workers who use tests must of course learn to pay attention to the nature of the group on which the derived scores are based if they are to know what any single score means. This becomes difficult for the counselor because of the fact that he must use several separately standardized tests at the same time and attempt to make intra-individual comparisons between scores rather than comparisons between one person and another. Differences in norm groups can make a psychogram very deceptive. A decided peak may not indicate at all that the ability it stands for is the individual's highest. It may show how he compares with a general population group whereas the others compare him with college students. Counselors attempt to allow for these discrepancies by using "clinical judgment," but it seems probable that too great a strain is often put on this rather elusive faculty. Thus unsound or doubtful interpretations pass unchecked since this is another fine point that we cannot expect clients who know nothing of test construction to be aware of.

Fortunately this is an area in which even a very modest research program can pay big dividends in increased clarity of interpretation. It is quite possible in a large institution to develop local norms on all the most commonly used intelligence and achievement tests and on some of the special aptitude tests so that an individual's scores on all of them can be referred to the same baseline. In smaller institutions where there are not enough cases for respectable norm groups it is at least possible to get comparative data showing where the group as a whole stands as compared with the norm groups on which scores in some counseling tests are based. Having this knowledge leads to more intelligent de-

cisions about academic problems at least. If it is known that the average score for freshmen at College X is a half standard deviation above the high school mean on one scholastic aptitude test and a half standard deviation below the college mean on another the significance of a particular score on either of them in this particular institution is easier to determine. It is advisable for statistical reasons which we assume are familiar to all readers that such adjustments be made in standard scores rather than in percentiles. One might almost lay down a general rule that the counselor should do his *thinking* about the clients' test results in standard score terms even though he may have to use percentile norms as a starting point if they are all that are available. The ability to think of one sort of distribution in terms of the other is one of the skills that should grow out of work in statistics and measurement courses.

Consideration of the norm problem brings us by another route to the same conclusion stated earlier—that well-established tests are more valuable counseling tools than new ones. A test that has been in use for a number of years has usually accumulated a variety of sets of norms. From those that are furnished the counselor can choose the one most relevant to an individual's characteristics and questions. On the Minnesota Clerical Test, for example, the possibility of finding out how a person compares with employed clerical workers as well as with men or women in general adds a great deal to the information obtained from a score. One caution, however, is in order. Because a test maker furnishes norms based on several types of populations, it does not follow that his test is *valid*. The two problems in test construction are completely separate. To give norms based on a group of machine shop operators does not constitute evidence for the validity of a mechanical aptitude test. To present norms for Negro children on an intelligence test does not prove that the test gives an adequate measure of Negro intelligence. The counselor must constantly evaluate

tests on the basis of *both* validity information and suitability of the norms for his purposes. In any conflict validity is the more important consideration.

A third basic concept is reliability. Because of the many meanings and connotations of the word "reliable" most clients and many counselors tend to attach too general a significance to the word. When a counselee asks, "How reliable is this test?" he usually means, "How good is it? How much confidence can we place in it?" His question should be answered in terms of the meaning he attaches to the word.

But in the counselor's own thinking "reliability" should refer to only a single characteristic of tests, namely their freedom from chance errors affecting scores. Because no test is entirely free from the effects of chance determiners we must learn to think of a score as a *zone* rather than a single point. The score tells us approximately where in a distribution an individual belongs. Because of the scarcity of satisfactory tests for some purposes and the necessity for making validity the primary consideration governing the choice of tests, counselors are often forced to make use of tests that are less reliable than they would wish. Many of the vocational aptitude tests in common use have reliability coefficients of .85 or lower based on the kind of group within which discriminations are to be made.

It is possible here for the counselor to make a rather precise allowance for the deficiency. If the standard error of measurement is given, or figures from which it may be derived, it gives him an indication of how wide a zone of possible values an individual score must be considered to represent. If the standard error is 3 and an individual's raw score 48 he can say to himself, "It is quite likely that his true score falls somewhere between 45 and 51 and practically certain that it is between 39 and 57. He has only to transfer these reference points to percentiles or standard score equivalents to decide how specific he has a right to be in reporting

to this person how good this particular test performance is. If a score of 45 corresponds to a percentile of 38 and a score of 51 to a percentile of 60, it is obviously going to be impossible to tell the person whether he is below or above average in this ability.

If we think of test interpretation as a matter of assigning an individual to a part of a distribution with regard to a measured characteristic, we can learn to make adjustments for unreliability almost automatically. The lower the reliability coefficient (or the higher the standard error of measurement) the fewer are the sections into which the distribution can be divided. Bloom [2] has emphasized this point and given a simple formula for making the adjustment. The number of classes can be determined from:

$$\frac{\textit{Range of scores}}{3\sqrt{1-r_{11}}}$$

If we are thinking in terms of a normal distribution where the total range is about 6 this means that for a reliability coefficient of .60 we are allowed 3.16 categories, for a reliability of .80, 4.47, and for a reliability of .90, 6.33. Translating this over into practical counseling terms, for a low reliability test we will usually phrase our explanation to the client in words like "about average," "above average," and "below average." If we are dealing with a test whose reliability is .90 or above, however, we can be more specific than this, using such terms as "very high," "high," "above average," "below average," "low," and "very low."

The interaction between imperfect reliability and the use of percentile norms in interpreting and reporting test results has not always been thoroughly understood by counselors. Because of the shape of the percentile distribution and the way it is derived from the distribution of raw scores, differences between one percentile and another throughout the middle range represent con-

[2] B. S. Bloom, "Test reliability for what?" *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1942, 33, 517–526.

siderably less difference in raw score than do differences in percentile at either the high or the low end of the distribution. But reliability and unreliability are concepts applying to the raw scores. This means that any given standard error of measurement affects percentiles of average magnitude far more than it affects low or high ones. On many tests of moderate reliability, standard errors corresponding to twenty or thirty percentile points in the middle of the scale may occur.

We have said previously that with validity coefficients as they are, one cannot usually predict anything useful from scores near the middle of a distribution. It follows from this consideration of reliability factors that if percentile norms are being used it is impossible even to know with any certainty what the score *is*. To tell an individual who is at the 40th percentile in a clerical test and the 60th in a mechanical test that he is below average in the one and above in the other is thus an unsound procedure. We do not know in which direction chance errors have influenced his scores. They may have operated to bring down the clerical and bring up the mechanical score, and they may well be important enough influences on raw scores to wipe out this difference of twenty percentile points based on those raw scores.

The only safe thing to tell an individual whose scores are like those cited above is that he is within the average range on both tests. How low or how high a percentile score must be before we are justified in saying anything more precise about it depends on the reliability. On most tests, however, it is quite legitimate to tell a person at the 99th percentile position, "You have made a very high score, one that places you in the top tenth of the group you are being compared with," whereas the person with a percentile of 65 would seldom be told anything more specific than, "You seem to be within the average range in the ability this test measures." Bloom's table, from the reference previously cited, is a useful guide in making these judgments.

TABLE 1 *

Given a Specified Reliability Coefficient and Specified Percentile Score Based on a Normal Distribution, the Fiducial Limits Which May be Expected Ninety-five out of One Hundred Times.

Percentile Score	Reliability							
	40	50	60	70	80	85	90	95
99	999–	999–	999–	999–	999	999	998	997
	791	827	861	895	926	942	956	971
98	999–	999–	999–	999	998	998	996	994
	704	748	792	837	881	902	924	947
97	999–	999	999	998	997	996	994	990
	642	690	739	790	842	867	869	896
96	999–	999	999	998	996	994	991	986
	592	642	695	751	809	839	871	905
95	999	999	998	997	994	992	988	981
	550	602	657	716	779	812	847	886
90	997	996	994	991	985	979	971	957
	407	460	517	582	657	699	746	801
85	995	992	989	983	972	964	951	930
	315	363	420	485	564	609	662	725
80	991	987	981	972	957	945	928	900
	249	293	345	408	486	533	588	657
70	980	972	961	945	919	900	874	832
	160	195	237	291	362	407	462	534
60	962	949	932	908	871	844	809	755
	103	129	162	206	267	307	357	427
50	936	917	892	859	810	776	732	669
	065	083	108	142	190	224	268	331

* B. S. Bloom, "Test reliability for what?" *J. Educ. Psychol.*, 1942, 33, 517–526.

We turn now to some considerations of particular importance to counselors relative to the interpretation of special *types* of test in common use. First on the list are the so-called general intelligence tests, more accurately labeled measures of scholastic aptitude. This is not just a euphemism or the pedantic use of a high-sounding phrase where a simple word would do as well. The one thing we can say with certainty that such tests get at is

a characteristic that is important for making progress in school. We are considerably less certain about the nature and the extent of their relationships to other criteria. Since such a large fraction of all counseling activity goes on in educational institutions, and since schooling of some sort is one of the principal means by which people prepare for occupations, the judgment these tests help one make is often a very important one.

Calling them scholastic aptitude tests, however, does not completely specify what they measure. Many counseling problems involve a more precise interpretation. To call them measures of "learning ability," as has often been done, is as likely to be misleading as helpful. A series of research studies (166, Chap. 12) has established that intelligence tests do not measure ability to learn—that there is in fact no such thing as general learning ability—if we define it in terms of the speed or efficiency with which simple materials or skills are mastered. The moron will learn some things as easily as will the genius. There are even some maze problems which rats are said to solve in fewer trials than human subjects do! (74, Chap. 6) To conclude that a person with a low IQ will not be able to learn anything is to wrong him seriously.

The thing that intelligence tests show is rather the complexity, difficulty, or abstractness of what can be learned. They correlate with the amount learned in school simply because school tasks in any grade or subject are of varying degrees of difficulty. Generally speaking, the brighter students grasp the easy *plus* the difficult ideas, the duller ones the easy ones only. Since we have no good measure of this difficulty factor, the situation is never very clear-cut. Most school examinations are scored in terms of the total number of questions answered correctly. It is quite possible for a student of only average intellectual powers to know so *many* of the items that he *is* able to understand that he runs up a higher total score than his much brighter classmate who knows

the most complex things but has not bothered to learn all the easy ones. Our scholastic aptitude tests do not measure sheer intellectual power either, but they probably come closer to it than the school examinations do.

What the counselor uses these tests for is primarily to give his client an indication as to how high up the educational ladder he will probably be able to go. There are, needless to say, many qualifications and reservations connected with these estimates. However, it seems to be true that only to a limited extent will extra effort compensate for deficiencies in what the tests measure. It is significant in this connection that scatter plots representing correlations between scholastic aptitude tests and school criteria usually show a larger number of exceptions to the general trend in the lower right-hand quadrant than in the upper left (as scores are usually tabulated, with the lowest at the left and at the bottom.) This means that a bright student is more likely to achieve less than was predicted for him than a dull student is to achieve more. In a way, this is what common sense would predict. There are innumerable reasons why a person with the ability to grasp the most complex subject matter may fail to do the work required for even a minimum passing grade; there are fewer ways in which exceptions in the other direction can occur. The data do, however, show both kinds of exceptions, though with different frequencies. As has been said in the previous chapter, this does not constitute so serious a stumbling-block for the counselor with a client-centered philosophy as it is for those who consider prognosis the most important feature of their work. If a counselor has given the client in clear form the information as to how he compares with others in the college course or occupational field he is considering, he can well feel that his duty has been discharged, even if the person decides to go ahead in the face of discouraging evidence. Nobody can be certain that his decision is unsound.

Recognition of the complex interplay of ability and effort in

the school situation gives rise to another rather widespread fallacy. Many educators, counselors included, act as though they assumed that while ability is a fixed quantity not subject to change, effort and motivation can be manipulated at will. Nothing could be farther from the truth. One of the most difficult problems to cope with in counseling is a state of chronic under-achievement. The student with an IQ of 160 who has just slid by in high school and is making marginal grades in college is operating under a crippling set of habits which are probably as deep-seated as anything in his personality. To alter this behavior is an undertaking of the same magnitude as curing a neurosis. No information about how bright he is, no little pep talk, no superficial instruction in study methods has much chance of succeeding.

If knowledge about his general level of academic aptitude is to be useful to a student, it is important that the counselor furnish along with it information as to the requirements of various schools, courses, and degrees. At the college level Embree (49) and Wrenn (182) have analyzed the scores made as entering freshmen by people successfully completing various amounts of college work. The average IQ (equated to 1937 Stanford-Binet) for students entering college is 118, for those completing bachelors' degrees 123, for those taking advanced degrees 126, and for the Ph.D.'s, 141. There is of course a range of values in each of these distributions and naturally half of the individuals in each group are below the mean. These data are obtained from only two institutions, but at least at the graduate levels their requirements are probably similar to those of other established institutions. Knowing these facts is helpful when a counselee is attempting to decide for or against a career that will require graduate training at a time long before he is actually ready to enter graduate school. The doubts that may be in the mind of a student who has nearly completed his undergraduate work can be resolved by less cir-

cuitous means, using either the Miller Analogies or the Graduate Record Examination along with his scholastic record.

The judgment as to whether a high school student will be able to succeed in college or a freshman complete his work for a degree is complicated by wide differences from college to college and from course to course within the same institution. There have been several studies showing how marked these differences can be (49). Their specific findings are not of much use to a counselor because the whole question is very much a local matter. The worker in the high school needs most to know the level of ability which is necessary for successful functioning in each of the colleges in his vicinity. The college worker needs to know the requirements for different courses and majors within his own school. Some information of this sort is sure to filter in to him as he works in one location for a period of time. To get more precise quantitative evidence requires the setting up of a research study. Usually this is well worth the effort involved.

Intelligence test results are used in a more general sort of way in connection with purely vocational decisions. Good summaries are now available showing averages and variability figures for men in a wide variety of occupational groups who took the Army General Classification Test.[3] In most instances, particularly for occupations below the professional level, the range is very great. Thus it is never possible to specify the job in which a person belongs from his intelligence test score alone. Some things can be ruled out, however, if they are clearly beyond his capacity.

A second variety of test much used in counseling is the achievement test on school subject matter. Since public school systems commonly employ such tests for other purposes such as classification, surveys, evaluations of programs, and decisions about pro-

[3] The manual furnished with the civilian form of this test, now published by Science Research Associates, has the most convenient summary.

motions, the high school counselor will often find that a student's cumulative record contains a considerable amount of information about his knowledge at successive stages of his school career. Thus it may not be necessary to do any special testing to obtain these data.

Their importance lies in what they can tell the client about his prospects for success in different fields of specialization. Since the question, "What shall I major in?" is among those most frequently asked, anything that helps to answer it is a real contribution. The reasoning that underlies this use of achievement test results is that past success in mastering a special kind of subject matter is the best indicator we can get of future success. It seems obvious that the student who, in a one-year exposure to it, has learned more about algebra than 90 per cent of his classmates do has a good chance of doing well with further mathematics courses.

Generally speaking, the makers of the good achievement test batteries, such as the Stanford, the Metropolitan, and the Cooperative, have solved with outstanding success the statistical problems centering around reliability and norms. It is the validity of these instruments for counseling purposes that is not so certain. We are on the same unsure ground that characterizes any reasoning from face validity when we try to predict from them. Performances which to the observer look alike may not call for the same mental processes. Ability to grasp algebra easily does not guarantee success with geometry or calculus. Some research has been done showing moderately high correlations between test scores and later criteria of academic achievement. We need more of such evidence. It is one of the things a counselor will always look for in test manuals.

In spite of this gap in our knowledge it seems better to use these test results, adding safeguards to their interpretations, than to discard them entirely, since we lack alternative techniques for

accomplishing the same purpose. Grades, which are the only other basis a student has for judging whether he is likely to succeed in a specific field, share the disadvantages of the tests. In addition they have a number of weaknesses of their own. Their unreliability and dependence on extraneous factors have been well documented. However, when grades and tests both point toward the same conclusion it can be drawn with more confidence than from either of them singly. They represent somewhat different aspects of the composite which we call school success. Grades seem to depend more upon effort, motivation, and good work habits. Most counselors will be able to call to mind someone like Elmer Sullivan who is on the verge of failing freshman chemistry in spite of the fact that he rates a 93rd percentile on a standardized test covering the material of the course. Inquiry discloses that he has handed in no lab reports and has failed to appear for four out of the ten weekly quizzes. In instances like this, test and grades show different things about the individual. Both are important. The thinking he does as he tries to account for the discrepancy may be very valuable to him.

With achievement tests as with intelligence tests we are on somewhat sounder ground when we use a score to *rule out* certain possibilities than when we try to predict outstanding success. This is perhaps their major function. As we have said, the student who has shown facility with high school algebra may or may not have what it takes to do equally well with calculus or statistics. But we can be fairly certain that if with average opportunity to learn he has acquired almost *no* algebraic knowledge his attempts to scale the more difficult mathematical peaks are doomed to failure. The case is clearer for mathematics, in which the higher levels are built on the lower, than for some other fields, but in general the principle that low scores are more significant than high ones has some validity.

In interpreting scores, it is essential that the counselor keep in

mind that achievement tests are measures of learned skills, not native capacities. Two consequences follow. The first is the necessity for ascertaining always whether an individual's opportunity to learn has in fact been comparable to that of the norm group to which he is referred. To carry our mathematics example a little farther, a boy's low score in algebra does not necessarily mean inability to learn and use algebraic concepts. If he comes from a remote little village where all high school subjects were taught by a single teacher who happens to be deficient in mathematics, he may well have learned little or nothing through no fault of his own. His lack of knowledge still constitutes a handicap for a career in engineering or the physical sciences, but in this case remedial work may be much more feasible than for someone else who has failed to learn under favorable circumstances.

This point leads to the other consequence that follows from the learned basis of what achievement tests measure. If an individual proves to be deficient in some skill that is essential for a major or a career, two choices are open to him. He may shift his attention to some area in which the deficiency does not matter, or he may take steps to overcome it. The point of view most characteristic of counselors is that it is usually better to concentrate on an area where there is no deficiency than to try to shore up what is probably a weak foundation at best. Nobody needs to be good at everything. However, general rules about this cannot be laid down. The counselor has discharged his responsibility when he has made sure that the client understands what is involved. The decision must be his own. Certain deficiencies like reading are usually worth taking in hand because they affect many different areas of specialization. Something like mathematics affects a narrower range of fields. Ordinarily a person can easily find one in which it is not essential, but he may not wish to do this. If one is considering a career in psychology, for example, and is deterred only by a lack of the mathematical background necessary for un-

derstanding statistics, it may be worth his while to make a determined effort to acquire the competence he now lacks.

A third type of test, one which might seem to obviate many of these difficulties connected with achievement tests, is the so-called "aptitude test," designed especially to predict future performance rather than to evaluate past learning. The term is rather loosely used to apply to two different types of testing instrument. The earliest and most extensive work was done on measurements of narrowly defined traits which were shown to be important in groups of related occupations, primarily mechanical on the one hand and clerical on the other. As time has passed the designation "aptitude tests" has also been used for complex batteries made up of a number of separate tests all of which correlate with success in a single occupation (or, more commonly, in the training course that leads to it). Medical, legal, engineering, and nursing aptitude tests are of this variety. Since the two kinds of tool involve different problems of interpretation for the counselor, we shall consider them separately.

So far as the narrowly defined aptitudes are concerned, the first point to remember is that the mechanical and clerical areas are the only ones in which enough research has been done so that we can be quite clear what our tests are measuring. Of mechanical aptitude tests we have now a considerable assortment from which to choose, and we know something about the kinds of criteria with which each correlates best, and the kind of individuals for whom it is most appropriate. Of clerical tests there is also a considerable number, but for many of them there is not enough information about validity and norm groups to permit unambiguous interpretation. Fortunately, the mechanical and clerical occupational areas are large ones covering a variety of specific jobs. A counselor often wishes that he had as satisfactory means of getting at a client's fitness for other things—selling, for example, or the personal service occupations. One wonders sometimes how many

students in paternalistic guidance situations have been steered toward skilled trades or office careers simply because equally high aptitudes of other sorts had no opportunity to show themselves. This is not likely to happen if the interview situation makes room for all aspects of an individual's personality, his non-measurable abilities, his interests, his hopes, and his anxieties as well as his "aptitudes."

It is also important to remember in working with mechanical and clerical aptitude tests that they do not cover all the qualities that any specific occupation demands. The boy who becomes a machinist will need at least an average amount of what we call general intelligence if he is to master the complexities of the trade. He will get along better if he also is blessed with a fair amount of the sort of dexterity or motor coördination required in work with machinery. The girl who plans to be a stenographer should be above the average level in general intelligence and have a good command of the essentials of English, punctuation, spelling, and usage. Other non-measurable characteristics such as an attractive appearance, the ability to keep quiet about confidential matters, and a willingness to take responsibility may affect her prospects. And we must never lose sight of the fact that it is not just the present possession of these traits but the capacity for developing them that counts. It is no wonder that occupational predictions are no better than they are.

There are on the market a fair number of tests of dexterity and motor coördination. Generally speaking, these are of little value for counseling purposes. The reason is that the skills they tap have turned out to be highly specific qualities. There is no such thing as general dexterity, in the sense that we speak of general intelligence or general mechanical aptitude. Since at the time counseling is done one almost never knows just what specific job a person will finally obtain after he has finished the training upon which he decided, there is no way of ascertaining ahead of

time whether he possesses the kind of motor coördination his particular task will require. If a counselee asks to take some of these tests there is no reason to deny his request, but ordinarily there is no reason to recommend them. If dexterity is to be evaluated at all, it is a good idea to sample several different kinds. Tests like the Purdue Pegboard give several separate measures based on use of the same apparatus. The important point, however, is that results of these tests should never be the deciding factor in vocational decisions. It may appear to the suffering patient that a dentist's speed and skill in the use of his fingers are the only characteristics that matter, but research has shown that intelligence and understanding of scientific principles are far more significant traits. Most of the occupations people classify as "work with the hands" are really more headwork than hand work.

Decisions with regard to careers in the arts pose special counseling problems. Here the inadequacy of available aptitude tests is most apparent. It is possible to measure only very limited aspects of what is necessary for success. A test may show that a person *lacks* one of the minimum essentials, say a well-developed sense of pitch for a musician, sound esthetic judgment for an artist, or general effectiveness of expression for a writer. But each of these occupations has room for only a relatively small number of practitioners, and only a small fraction of those who qualify on the basis of test scores will get in. Above a certain necessary minimum, more of the traits measured by any of the tests we have seems to have no significance. The person who scores at the 99th percentile on the Seashore Pitch Test probably has no better prospect for eminence as a violinist than the person who scores at the 89th. Success depends on other qualities. We really have no good method of helping a talented young person decide what the probabilities are of his being able to make his living in the arts. Judgments of his work by experts help some, but their unreliability is well-known. Experts often disagree completely

as to the merits of a performance. What counseling can do for him is to help him clarify his motivation. The boy who likes to think of himself as a potential author but who never does any writing outside of class assignments can come to understand the purpose his daydreams serve in his attitudes toward himself. The would-be violinist can decide whether he is willing to put heart and soul into his efforts to master his instrument knowing that there can be no assurance of an ultimate triumph.

As we have said, the other use of the term "aptitude" in present practice has reference to batteries of tests put together to give maximum statistical prediction of success in a special type of professional training course. Substantial correlations have been reported between scores on such batteries and grades in engineering, law, and nursing courses. In medicine and teaching the relationships are hardly big enough to help with individual predictions. For problems to which these tests are applicable they are among the most useful and meaningful counseling tools. We must keep in mind when reporting results, however, that it is success in the training course rather than in the occupation itself they are predicting. A boy may unquestionably have what it takes to complete a course in civil engineering without having the qualities that would make for success and satisfaction in that career. But since for any profession the completion of the training course is the first inescapable essential, knowing one's prospects of handling it successfully is a very real advantage.

Even if tests are labeled "aptitude" rather than "achievement" the habit of taking into consideration all of a person's past experience is an indispensable part of the counselor's skill in interpreting them. He must know which ones are most affected by previous training, which are relatively free from such effects. Scores on the Seashore tests, for example, are increased little if at all by having had music lessons, whereas art lessons make a considerable difference in the Meier Art Judgment score. Some clerical tests are

independent of clerical experience, some are not. A college student who has completed a year of a pre-engineering course, even if his grades have been low, has probably learned enough to increase his score on the Engineering and Physical Science Aptitude Test and thus make predictions from it invalid. Such information is available in test manuals and standard reference works but the counselor should have assimilated it so that it automatically comes into focus when tests are being selected or interpreted.

Recent years have brought the development of several batteries of tests based on factor analysis. The method is a powerful tool, and the results are of great potential importance in counseling. Some day we may be able to measure in a few hours all of a person's basic abilities, abilities upon which the structure of his special skills must be built. When we know which abilities or which combination of them is important in specific occupational and educational fields, much of the doubt and uncertainty can be taken out of vocational decisions. What the counselor now must keep in mind, however, is that it is precisely this knowledge that we do not as yet have. We have very little basis for tying an individual's pattern of scores on the Primary Mental Abilities or Differential Aptitude Tests to anything outside the tests themselves. Such information is being accumulated, but it will be a long time before there is enough of it to constitute a groundwork for sound interpretation. Face validity can be as misleading here as elsewhere. A few studies, for instance, show that scores on the "Number" factor are less closely related to mathematics than to English grades. Workers in applied fields of psychology may not know the factor analysis methods well enough to realize that names are assigned to factors on a purely subjective basis. The research worker must use his own judgment about what tests with high loadings have in common, and this judgment, like any other, may be wrong.

There is one battery of counseling tests based on factor analysis

to which these cautions do not apply to the same extent, since tests have been linked to external criteria from the outset. This is the battery developed by the U.S. Employment Service which is now being used in many local offices. It has not been placed on the market for general use in educational institutions but can in some places be obtained by arrangement with the Employment Service. This battery like the others will be more useful when more research data have been published, but even at present it has a great advantage over others similarly constructed.

We have been considering so far only tests of ability. Decisions an individual makes depend also on his motivation and personality characteristics. To evaluate these, interest tests can be quite useful, but they too involve special problems in interpretation, problems of which not all their users are aware.

Foremost among these is one that arises from the fact that clients make no distinction in their own minds between interest and ability. As interest scores are expressed in occupational terms —for example, Engineer or Salesman on the Strong, Mechanical or Persuasive on the Kuder—a person who has been told his scores is very likely to carry away from the experience the idea that he is *good at* the kinds of work the high scores represent. Again and again students come to their advisers with statements like, "The test said I would be good at music or social service." If tests are to help clients make good decisions we must take great pains to express the results in terms that make it plain that *interests* are being measured and that interests and abilities are not the same thing. Correlational studies—and there have been many of them—have produced very few even moderately high coefficients for scores on either the Strong or Kuder and criteria of success in occupations and training programs. Thus it is really essential that this point about interest tests be put across.

Another general characteristic distinguishing these tests from

ability tests is that scores can rather easily be warped in any direction the person taking the test wants to warp them. This is, of course, a more important limitation on their use in selection than in counseling situations, but counselors too must pay some attention to the circumstances under which the test is taken and the motivation that the testee brings to it. In high schools where tests are given to groups in classes it is advisable to explain with particular care the purposes for which the interest tests are going to be used.

Judged by our canon of the amount of research information it has accumulated, the Strong test is to be preferred to any other for all cases where it is applicable. In getting the meaning of a Strong score over to an individual one must attempt to make clear that it shows not interest in the activities an occupation requires but resemblance of outlook and attitude to people engaged in that type of work. Thus a girl can get an A on the Stenographer-Secretary key even if she hates office work. An atheist can score high on the Minister scale. A man who has never had the slightest urge to take brush in hand can come out with a significant rating for Artist. Discussion of the motives and attitudes that produce such apparently anomalous scores can become the most illuminating part of a counseling interview. Another point for the counselor to make clear is that these motivational characteristics are not transitory superficial things, but are among the most stable traits we have been able to measure in adults. He should explain that while they may not determine whether or not a person will succeed in the work he chooses they do in general show whether he will get a feeling of satisfaction from it, a feeling that he fits. (Even the girl who hates office work may recognize that she fits the "white collar girl" pattern.) Explanations as to the meaning of scores should be based on the groupings of occupations shown in correlational studies rather than upon iso-

lated scores. It is better to say, "Your likes and dislikes resemble those of men in the business contact fields," than to say, "Your highest score was on 'Life Insurance Salesman'."

The Strong blank is not so useful in the high school as it is in the college situation. For one thing the scoring is so difficult or expensive that it is often outside the limits of time and money budgeted for counseling services. Furthermore, its range of occupational keys outside the professional fields is so limited that it is not very informative for the majority of students who will not go into the professions. The Kuder Preference Record fills the need for an interest indicator applicable to unselected adolescents. It too gives rise to special problems of interpretation. As has been said, it does not measure ability, and students taking it are very likely to assume that it does. In this test it is the whole profile rather than any single score that is meaningful and we must always avoid placing too much weight on one score alone. With regard to these profiles evidence is far from complete as to patterns that men and women engaged in various occupations actually show. Such data are being accumulated as rapidly as possible and are of course more adequate for some occupational groups than for others. The counselor as he studies a client's scores should scrutinize carefully the section of the test manual in which such information is given. Particularly if he is using both the Strong and Kuder tests in his work so that confusion is possible, he must keep in mind that the norm groups are differently selected. For each occupational key on the Strong norms are based on men and women successfully engaged in the occupation; on the Kuder the derived scores compare the individual to a general population group.

When both the Strong and Kuder tests are given to the same individual there are almost sure to be discrepancies between the two profiles. This is not surprising since the two instruments have different theoretical bases, types of item, and methods of

reporting scores. Until we know more about what discrepancies mean, giving both tests to the same client is likely to be more confusing than helpful. A person who is told that he is at the 82nd percentile in "Scientific" interests but has a C+ for Group I and a B— for Group II on the Strong is really more in the dark than he was to start with, even if the meaning of both sets of scores is carefully explained to him. The trouble is that the psychologist himself does not know what such a discrepancy indicates. Until we have research data helping to clarify such cases it is probably sounder practice to give one test or the other, using whichever fits the individual's needs and circumstances best, and then to regard the results as a starting-point for the discussion of motives and attitudes.

There are a number of other interest tests, but they lack the research background needed to make them really meaningful in counseling. Occasionally, however, we encounter a client for whom one of these other instruments is more suitable than those we have discussed. Probably the most important of these special needs is for a simple blank that can be filled out by a person below average in intelligence and educational level. Such an individual may find it impossible to carry out the instructions for either the Strong or the Kuder. A test like the Lee-Thorpe Occupational Interest Inventory is applicable here, since it calls for a straightforward choice between two alternatives, to be recorded on the test blank itself. Because of the dearth of validity information the counselor must be especially careful to use scores on this and similar tests only as interview aids, sources of vocational possibilities to be discussed. They must never be used as a basis for decisions. With this limitation they do serve a useful purpose.

Aside from interest tests the most common type of standardized technique for evaluating personal characteristics is the so-called personality inventory. It might be more accurate to label such tests *mal*adjustment inventories, since they consist typically

of lists of troubles and symptoms. A counselor who sees his task primarily as diagnosis can often fit information he obtains from a client's responses in with clues he picks up from other parts of the record to help him understand the nature of the person's problems and difficulties.

If, however, he regards testing, as we have been recommending that he do, primarily as a source of information which the client himself can use in attempting to understand his own characteristics and arrive at decisions satisfactory to him, it is less clear that tests such as these make any contribution at all. The disadvantages of bringing them in may well outweigh any possible advantages. The essence of this kind of counseling is perfect candor; the counselor does not withhold information from the client. But what is one to tell a person who makes T— scores of 70 or higher on the Hs, D, and Pt scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory? Even if it were good therapeutic practice to state that he showed an unusually high level of the personality characteristics found in hypochondriacs, depressives, and obsessive-compulsive neurotics—and it obviously is not what any therapist would approve of—there is not even sufficient scientific evidence to warrant such a statement. A better procedure would be to phrase the meaning of the scores in simple, non-technical language and say, "The test shows that you are more likely than the average person to be concerned about symptoms of possible illness, to feel discouraged and depressed at times, and to get ideas and impulses that you can't shake off," and then use this statement as a starting-point for further discussion. The value of the test results to him, however, is still very doubtful. If the interviews encourage free expression the symptoms that are complicating his life will come up for consideration eventually anyway. All that the test has accomplished by bringing them out in the beginning in this form is to add to the load of anxiety he is carrying.

It seems to be commonly believed by vocational counselors that personality tests can be used to ascertain whether an individual has the special traits required by a certain occupation. Is this boy dominant enough to be a good salesman? Is this girl well-adjusted enough to be a social worker? Unfortunately there is almost no research evidence that warrants our using personality tests in this way. There is, on the other hand, a considerable body of evidence showing that such use is unwarranted. There are two things lacking. In the first place we do not know what the personality traits essential to the various occupations are. In the second place we cannot be sure that the inventories measure what we think they do. This means that when a counselor tells a client, "This test shows that you are a dominant person who should be able to succeed as a salesman," it is much worse than telling him nothing at all and leaving him to make a decision on other grounds. He is misleading him in two ways at once.

The projective tests have many of the same disadvantages as the inventories for counseling purposes, although there are some ways in which they can occasionally be profitably used. It is just as impossible for the Rorschach as for the Bernreuter to give an individual dependable information about the amount of various desirable and undesirable traits he possesses. There has been even less research with the projective tests than with the inventories on traits characteristic of specific occupations. But the projective tests, especially the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Test, are somewhat more likely perhaps to stimulate fruitful discussion of personal problems. Several workers have reported using them in this way. If the Rorschach has been given it is possible to use salient features of the record as a point of departure. Such statements as, "The test results suggest that you are a person with a rich imaginative life who gets more satisfaction from his own ideas than from outside sources," or "The way you responded to the blots suggests that you are a cautious individual who likes

to make sure he is right before he goes ahead," are examples of the kind of summary that may help a client to start thinking about himself.

When using the TAT in counseling it is best to drop all pretense that it is a test of imagination or any other sort of ability and simply say that sometimes people can understand themselves better from the stories that occur to them than from trying to think about their personalities directly. Then, after a client has told his stories in response to the pictures selected, he is encouraged to take the initiative in their interpretation.

There is no systematic evidence that projective tests, used thus or in any other way, contribute to the success of counseling. It is obvious that they do nothing that a really successful interview could not do without them. Their function, if they have one, is to help the less articulate or more repressed person to express the feelings that he basically wants to bring out. A girl can sometimes explain why she described the mother in one story as weak and ineffectual when she would have found it completely impossible to start off with an analysis of her own family situation. If unwillingness to reveal anything is deep and powerful enough, however, it will extend to the test itself. The problem of how to help the person who cannot bring himself to express his feelings is so important to counselors that they welcome any possible tool. The doubtful status of these techniques should always be kept in mind until further research gives us more facts to go on. It goes without saying also that no-one should make use of projective tests who has not been trained in their administration and interpretation and who is not familiar with the already vast literature that has grown up around them.

We have discussed at some length in the previous chapter the diagnostic use of personality tests of both the inventory and the projective type to help with decisions as to whether counseling

should be continued beyond the first interview. Under some circumstances this is advisable, under others not.

If we see counseling as a "democratic" rather than a "laissez-faire" procedure there is no way in which we can avoid taking the kind of responsibilities we have been outlining here with regard to the choice and interpretation of tests. With very few exceptions the clients who come to us know nothing of the special field of mental testing. It is quite possible for them to hold completely erroneous notions as to what tests can do and to misunderstand what their own scores mean. If we use tests at all we must try to see that this does not happen. And we must do this without delivering lectures on test principles but by using a few well-chosen phrases, that indicate simply and precisely what a test is designed to do and what a specific score means. It is not an easy task. The next chapter will be devoted to methods for accomplishing it.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

To summarize all research on mental tests relevant to the counselor's purposes is obviously so large a task as to place it outside the scope of this book. Adequate discussions are available in the reference books listed in Appendix C. Of these, perhaps the single most useful source is Super's *Appraising Vocational Fitness*. His summaries of validity studies on the individual tests are particularly valuable. What we have included in this research summary is some additional documentation for the points we have stressed as being of special importance to counselors in connection with special *types* of test.

First of all our knowledge of the relationship between intelligence and learning ability rests primarily on an unusually complete and thorough series of studies by Woodrow. These are summarized in Tyler (166, Chap. 12). They show unambiguously that intelligence test scores are not correlated with the improvements made over a period of time on performances which are well within the grasp of all

members of a group who are trying to learn them. A study by Simrall (144) bears out this conclusion and shows that even when the types of materials in the practice tests are highly similar to the materials in the original intelligence tests, the gains are still not related to initial proficiency. Thus a high score on the S factor does not predict unusually rapid learning of material involving spatial relationships. Tilton's report (161) seems to contradict the others in that it shows a substantial correlation between changes in scores on a history test and IQ. In order to get this result, however, he modified the achievement test, omitting all the easier items, those answered correctly by more than 45 per cent of the group at the beginning. What this study thus does is to furnish evidence for the conclusion that intelligence test scores are related to the *difficulty* of what can be learned rather than to the amount. If a test is designed so that one *must* learn the more difficult things in order to improve his score on it, the advantage will go to students with higher IQ's.

The second main point with regard to intelligence tests, that they show how far a student will be able to get in school, rests on a large amount of evidence covered in most of the works on mental testing. The recent studies by Embree and by Wrenn referred to in the chapter are especially useful to the counselor because they give specific information as to just *how* high a person should be to expect to reach the upper scholastic levels. Embree (49) used as subjects 951 graduates of the University of Minnesota high school in the period from 1921 through 1945 who later attended college. The IQ used was based on five group intelligence tests which had been equated statistically to the 1937 Stanford Binet. (Statistical equating does not of course make tests psychologically equivalent. The procedure does, however, give figures adequate for group comparisons.) The averages have already been given on p. 120. Embree puts some emphasis also on variability, especially the differences between one college and another as judged from 1937 ACE scores equated to IQ. The IQ's of degree recipients ranged from 95 to 180. The national average was 113. The highest and lowest colleges reporting scores to the American Council on Education in 1937 showed averages corresponding to

IQ's of 133 and 100 respectively. Wrenn (182) was interested in the students who eventually obtained Ph.D.'s. His subjects were 592 men obtaining Ph.D.'s in science from Ohio State or Minnesota during the 1940–47 period. The scores each of them had made on the Ohio or ACE test at the time he entered college as a freshman was located and transmuted to its IQ equivalent. For this group the 90th percentile was 167, the 75th 157, the median 141, the 25th 125, and the 10th 115. The median of the Ph.D. distribution stood at about the 90th percentile for entering freshmen. Wrenn estimated on the basis of his data that about one-third of the graduates of these institutions (Ohio State and Minnesota) would have Ph.D. capacity.

The third topic upon which some additional research can be reported is the necessity for caution in the interpretation of tests based on factor analysis. Guilford and Zimmerman have placed on the market a new battery they call an aptitude survey, and have made one preliminary report (65). It describes the tests but gives no information that would permit a counselor to draw conclusions from them. No correlations with any outside criteria are given, and there is no evidence that these particular tests are relatively pure measures of the factors for which they are named. Goodman (64) in 1944 summarized the available studies on the relationship of scores on Primary Mental Abilities Tests to college grades. While it appeared that a weighted composite of scores on the separate tests correlated at least as well as a general measure of scholastic aptitude with either total grade record or grades in individual subjects, there were very few even moderately high correlations between single abilities and course grades. V (verbal meanings) tends to correlate highest with everything. S (space), M (memory), and P (perceptual speed) show little correlation with anything. In one study the highest coefficient reported was $-.25$ between S and inorganic chemistry grades! More recently Shaw (141) has studied the relationships between PMA scores and scores on subject matter achievement tests for 591 entering ninth grade students. Again at this age level V tends to correlate with all the criteria as does R (reasoning) to a lesser extent. The rest seem to add very little.

The publishers of the Differential Aptitude Tests have been furnishing to the users of the battery an increasing amount of validity information. Research reports are being published periodically in such a form that they can easily be added to the Manual (18). So far most of these have been concerned with relationships between test scores and grades in high school courses. In general such correlations are in the expected directions, but there are aspects of the data which should hold counselors back from hasty generalizations in individual cases. The magnitude of the coefficients varies considerably from place to place. Not all the relationships we would expect to find turn up. Clerical speed and accuracy, for example, shows but little correlation with grades in commercial courses (or with anything else, for that matter) and mechanical reasoning seems in some places to have practically no predictive value for shop work. If the tests are being used in a school, these data should by all means be studied in detail. Bennett, Seashore, and Wesman (17) have made a first report on a follow-up study of 2,900 former high school students who took the Differential Aptitude Tests in 1947. All of the subjects have been out of high school at least two years. So far a 60 per cent return of questionnaires has been obtained. The group has been sorted into different categories corresponding to the educational or vocational careers followed. These various groups did differ significantly in mean score on some of the tests. Thus engineering students were higher than liberal arts students on space relations, mechanical reasoning, and numerical ability. Clerks were distinguished by higher than average scores not on clerical speed and accuracy but on spelling. This type of research should eventually give us information of great value to the counselor.

We turn now to the fourth point on which research supplementary to that given in the standard reference works can be cited, the use of interest tests. The basic source of information on the Strong test is of course Strong's book (154). Studies which have come out since its publication have extended the usefulness of the test in various directions, but they have not changed any of the standard principles of interpretation. The best source of information on the Kuder is the most recent Examiner Manual (94). A bibliography of 138 titles is listed,

and various types of validity information are summarized. This is still not nearly so impressive as for the Strong. It has been shown that college students in various major groups differ in their profiles in ways we would expect them to differ from the names of the scales. Some significant correlations have been obtained between interest scores and school achievement, particularly in scientific, computational, and literary areas. These are too low, however, to have much utility in counseling. The most important advance has been made in the accumulation of data showing what kinds of profiles actually characterize workers in various occupations. The 1951 Manual includes 144 profiles for men based on a total of 11,491 cases and 68 profiles for women based on 5,704 cases. The number of cases in many of the separate groups is still very small, but for some, accountants for example, and nurses, it appears to be quite adequate. Super (157, pp. 453–455) has the best summary of research attempting to relate Kuder to Strong scores. It can be seen that most of the correlations are low or moderate, and that they are higher in some areas than in others. In many cases they are not the same for women as for men.

Evaluation. This summary is designed to call attention to some kinds of research which are of special importance to the counselor rather than to cover the field completely. These studies indicate that intelligence tests furnish information as to how high on the educational ladder the individual will be able to go, that the relationships between scores on so-called primary mental abilities and outside criteria are not clear enough to warrant much emphasis on such separate scores in counseling, and that the Kuder and Strong interest blanks cannot be used interchangeably.

VI

The Use of Tests

INTEGRATING TESTS WITH THE COUNSELING PROCESS

We have been assuming that mental tests have something to contribute to counseling in cases where an individual needs dependable information about his own characteristics. In the previous chapter we were concerned with special aspects of test interpretation that are of particular importance when tests are used for this purpose. In this chapter we shall take up the problem of bringing them into the counseling situation without changing its structure in an unfavorable way. It is evident that the pattern will be different if tests are a part of it than if they are not, but this is not necessarily a disadvantage. As has been stressed before, no two counseling relationships are identical and everything said or done makes some difference in the structure of the situation. The potential hazard that accompanies testing is that of making the counselee *less clear* what counseling can do for him or *more dependent* upon the counselor for the answers to all his questions. We wish to facilitate both his understanding of himself and his acceptance of what he learns. Information must be brought in in such a way that he can incorporate it in his picture of himself instead of building up defenses against it. These general purposes

give us a background against which we can examine some specific problems and procedures.

How well these purposes are achieved will depend first of all on the way in which tests for an individual are selected. It is not so many years ago that Bordin and Bixler (22, pp. 173–183), thoroughly imbued with the non-directive attitude, first proposed that tests should be chosen by the client rather than by the counselor. At first it seemed to many workers to be a fantastic idea, but as it was tried out it began to seem quite a natural sort of procedure. Its great advantage is that it keeps an essential feature of the situation clear for the counselee—namely, that *he* is to make the decisions by which the course of his life is to be governed. This does not mean, of course, that good counseling has not been done under the other system. The fact that the counselor makes minor decisions about tests does not obligate him to make major ones about careers. But a certain amount of confusion about roles is circumvented by arranging to have all the decisions, in and out of the counseling room, in the client's hands.

The principal difficulty that we encounter in attempting to organize our procedure in this way is that the clients who are to make the choices know nothing about tests and thus may decide what to take on the basis of completely erroneous ideas. They come to counseling with all sorts of attitudes and beliefs on the subject. Some have developed an almost superstitious faith in test scores and are quite prepared to take at face value anything the results may suggest. Others, acutely skeptical and critical even before they sit down to work on a test, seem to be preparing defenses against it. Few if any of them have any notion of the elementary concepts of reliability, validity, and the meaning of relative scores.

The first method by which the counselor can get around this difficulty is to limit the list of tests from which choices are to be made. Not all techniques used in clinical work are suitable for

counseling if we are seeking information for the client rather than suggestions and clues which a psychologist can work up into a diagnosis. The previous chapter has explained what are the essential features of tests useful for this purpose. They must be reasonably reliable so that a score will indicate with some certainty at least whether a person is superior, average, or inferior in the trait measured. They must be backed by validity evidence showing what kinds of life situations they are related to and how close the relationships are. They should have norms that enable a person to compare himself with the kinds of people with whom he will be competing if he decides to go ahead in a certain direction. Finally, they must have been in use long enough so that a body of experience has grown up around them and their special advantages and limitations have had a chance to show up. The number which qualify according to all these standards is definitely limited. Only the charlatan will feel that he is adding to the impressiveness of the service he offers by appearing to have tests for every conceivable human characteristic.

Having pruned down the list from which choices are to be made, one must next organize the titles in some reasonable fashion in order to make it easy for the client to relate traits about which he wishes information to tests which can give it to him. In school situations one workable classification is: (1) General scholastic aptitude, (2) Subject-matter achievement, (3) Special aptitudes and talents, (4) Interests. Services for out-of-school adults may wish to consolidate the scholastic aptitude and achievement sections and make a further breakdown of the special aptitude section. There is no one way of classifying tests, but ease and efficiency are promoted if they are organized around the kinds of questions clients coming to a particular agency tend to ask about themselves.

With a limited number of tests clearly grouped under a few main headings it is often possible to include in the printed list

itself a brief explanation of what each test shows. The alternative procedure is for the counselor to explain the function of each test at the time the client is considering whether or not he wishes to take it. Whether they are presented in written or in oral form, such explanations should be brief and clear, free from pedantry and technical terminology. It is better to say, for example, "This test measures your ability to see how parts fit together, an ability that is important in many kinds of mechanical work," than to put it, "This is a test of two-dimensional spatial visualization correlating with mechanical criteria to the extent of about .50."

It is important that decisions about testing be made only after there has been a preliminary interview which creates an atmosphere in which the client's real questions and problems can emerge. The student who rushes in asking to take some vocational aptitude tests should always be invited first to sit down and talk things over. After he has had an opportunity to examine his own motives and needs, and to experience acceptance and understanding from the counselor, he will be better able to select tests that will really help him with his decisions. Tests alone can never do the job.

To start always with an interview of this sort will help to head off a troublesome situation which otherwise can arise a little later. Not infrequently the first and only question an individual poses at the beginning is one which a single test will answer in a fairly ambiguous "Yes" or "No" fashion. "Can I get into a certain college?" "Will I be accepted for a pre-medical course?" "Is my reading ability low?" In the Veterans Administration it was a common occurrence for a man to come in with his mind all made up about what he *wished* to do. He would see tests only as a means of verifying his choice so that the VA would be willing to finance his training. In such a case if he made a low score on a single test he took for verification purposes it would create an extremely awkward and unpromising counseling situation. The counselor

would be in the position of having to inform him that his score did not warrant a recommendation that he go ahead with the plans he had made. Knowing nothing except the facts the single test had given him about the man's pattern of abilities and interests, he could not very well suggest alternative possibilities. Resentment and defensiveness inevitably followed. Had the person's outlook been broadened at the beginning this outcome could have been avoided.

This does not mean that the counselor should argue with such a client in the initial interview or urge him to take more tests. He should rather accept the plan the client is proposing in the same spirit that he accepts all his other feelings and opinions, showing friendly interest but neither approval nor disapproval. If the interview is productive the motives and needs that lie back of the choice will begin to appear. It may be that a mother or wife is pushing him toward a professional career that he himself doubts his ability to achieve. It may reflect some fixed idea held since childhood, a dream that no longer fits the conditions of adulthood but which he has not questioned. Whatever the reasons are for the occupational choice, as he discusses them and finds them accepted without criticism he is very likely to extend his horizon spontaneously and think of other kinds of life plan. If he does not do this, it is quite legitimate for the counselor to ask him whether there are not some other characteristics he would like to check up on while he has this opportunity. Then if he shows some interest in the Strong test the question can be put to him as to what keys he would especially like to have scored. Because the client-centered attitude in order to function at all must be consistent and dependable, the client's decision is of course final. If after all this he still insists that it is a career in medicine or nothing for him and that he is interested only in tests related to this one occupation, no others should be required of him. Such stubborn insistence on one thing alone is rare, however, in interviews

which place the emphasis on the needs occupational choices meet rather than on the choices themselves.

At the opposite extreme from the client who wishes to take only tests related to a single choice is the one who will read over a test list and check practically everything on it. This too can lead to unsatisfactory situations. He may find that the process he has let himself in for is far more time-consuming than he expected and decide to drop the whole thing. Thus both time and test materials are wasted. The inevitable duplication in what is measured also wastes time. Furthermore, as was explained in discussing the Strong and Kuder interest measures, two tests that apparently cover much the same ground may produce discrepant results and lead to confusion because no research evidence that could give clues as to the reason for the discrepancy is obtainable. To head off these difficulties arising from over-testing, again a satisfactory interview focusing on the motives behind the questions is the first essential. In connection with this aspect of test choice it is clearly the counselor's responsibility to explain which tests duplicate each other. Few students will realize unless told, for example, that the Engineering and Physical Science Aptitude Test has sub-tests on science, mathematics, and mechanical comprehension, so that it is unnecessary to take time for separate tests in these areas if the composite has been chosen. Finally, it is a good idea to tell the client before he leaves how long the test program he has lined up for himself will take. Then if it seems over-long he can decide right then to leave out what appears least valuable.

Usually the high school counselor is confronted with a different set of circumstances. Because of the number of students to be served it may not be possible to plan testing individually. A standard battery that can be administered to groups must be selected even though it involves over-testing for some and under-testing for others. In this situation the problem of test selection

takes on a different form. Most of the principles are, however, the same. It is important that the battery used for counseling purposes be made up of tests reliable and valid enough to permit a clear-cut, unambiguous report to the student. It is important that they cover enough different aspects of ability and interest so that the individual can assess strengths and weaknesses rather than suitability for one particular thing, such as college education. The conditions under which they are given should approximate as closely as possible those that obtain when a person is taking tests he himself has chosen, since the attitude with which one approaches the task can influence results markedly, especially on interest inventories. Coöperation in the venture must be secured from students even when the initiative must necessarily be taken by the counselor. A clear explanation as to how the results are to be used and the kind of information about themselves they can expect to get often helps to develop the necessary morale. Finally it must be recognized by everyone concerned with the program, administrators and teachers as well as counselors, that the *reporting* of test results is a matter for individual, not group discussion. To save time by giving tests in groups does not weaken a program seriously, but to attempt to make further economies by allowing students to interpret their own scores undermines it completely. It is better to do no testing at all and leave students to judge their capabilities from other kinds of evidence than to open the way for the many kinds of misconceptions and anxieties about intelligence, aptitudes, and interests that testing without counseling creates. Unfortunately many school administrators are not familiar enough with the technical aspects of mental measurement to realize this. It must usually be the counselor's responsibility to make it clear.

Once a battery of tests has been given and scored, the next step is fitting the results into some coherent pattern that will facilitate discussing them with the client. As we said in Chapter IV, this is

the major activity involved in what has often been called "diagnosis." Our reasons for giving up the term were set forth there, but they constitute no justification for discounting the skill itself. It is as essential to vocational and educational counseling as it ever was, regardless of what we call it. There is little or nothing to be gained by presenting a client with an unintelligible mass of quantitative data and expecting him to incorporate it with the rest of his experience, much of which he may have found equally unintelligible. If we are really thinking of test results as a source of information, information that can promote and deepen self-understanding, then it is of the utmost importance that the facts be organized in such a way that they can be clearly communicated. In a busy counseling agency it is easy for this task to be squeezed out by more observable kinds of activity. A person who is sitting and thinking about the material in a case folder may not appear to be doing anything. His knowledge that the thinking is necessary makes it his responsibility to arrange his schedule so as to leave time for it before every planning interview.

In analyzing how this is done, let us begin with an example of the kind of data a counselor must organize. We have made things a little easier for Mr. Larson, the counselor, than they would ordinarily be by summarizing the background information which he would probably have had to assemble from several different blanks in the student's folder. It is the organization of *test* information and its incorporation with the background data which concerns us here.

Name: Peter Hardy *Age:* 18

School placement: Freshman in State University

Family: Peter is the youngest of three children. The father is a bricklayer; the mother before marriage was an elementary school teacher. An older sister is married, an older brother in the Navy. The family is in comfortable circumstances and is financing his college education. Peter is living in the dormitory.

School background: His high school record was satisfactory but not outstanding. Grade reports show average and slightly above-average marks in most subjects. No subject stands out as a field in which he has achieved conspicuous success. He took part in a number of activities and held minor offices in several organizations but was not conspicuously good at any of these either.

Work experience: Peter had a paper route throughout his high school years. For the past three summers he has worked, one year on his uncle's farm, another in a cannery, and most recently in a grocery store doing deliveries. The last was the job he liked the best.

Occupational plans: Until recently he has never thought much about what he wanted to do when he grew up. He has vaguely considered law because "it would be a good thing to have a profession," but aside from this he has no ideas.

Notes on first interview: Mr. Hardy came in because of vocational indecision. This is beginning to trouble him now that he has come to college, as he keeps meeting boys his age who seem to have definite plans for their lives. He wonders sometimes if he should not have come to college but started to work in a store or office instead. Particularly when, as has happened recently, he gets back an English theme with an unsatisfactory grade or a poor exam paper in history he doubts his own ability to complete a degree course.

It is his mother who has really set her heart on his going through college, and the thought of her disappointment if he doesn't make the grade is his chief reason for trying. She has always had intellectual and social ambitions for her family, and so far they haven't lived up to them very well. The daughter at 18 married a salesman who has a good income but not even a high school diploma. The oldest boy left high school to join the Navy during the war and decided to stay in when it was over.

Peter feels that his mother has already had more than her share of disappointment and worry. His father is doing well now, but there was a period during the 1930's when no building was going on and the family was very "hard up." He can just barely remember the uneasy feeling he used to get as a small boy when people would make cracks about the WPA—how he would hope they wouldn't find out that his father had a WPA job. What he remembers better is a period in his life from about 11 to 14 when he was a member of a "gang" that went in for minor delinquencies such as breaking into empty houses and stealing vegetables and fruit from gardens. "My mother was pretty worried about my future then," he says half jokingly. He finds it hard to understand now just what appeal the whole thing had for him. At any rate the gang broke up when the older boys in it quit school and scattered, and he "turned over a new leaf" about the time he entered high school.

He had come prepared to take "aptitude tests" and was eager to take as many as possible. After some explanation of what different tests were designed to measure we settled on a list including the ACE, the Coöperative General Proficiency Battery, the Coöperative Reading Comprehension and Effectiveness of Expression, the Minnesota Paper Form Board and Clerical, and the Strong. Because of his need for a broad survey we will score the Strong on the group keys, adding Carpenter, Printer, and Farmer to get at some areas the groups do not cover. It can be scored on other occupational keys later if it seems desirable.

Test results:

Test	Norm Group	Percentile
ACE L	Entering freshmen	91
Q	" "	70
Total	" "	85
Coop. Gen. Prof.	" "	60
Natural Science	" "	95
Social Science	" "	75
Mathematics	" "	22
Coop. Eff. of Exp.		
Coop. Reading	" "	91
Vocabulary	" "	80
Speed of Comprehension	" "	83
Level of Comprehension		
Minn. Paper Form Board	Liberal Arts freshmen	60
Minn. Clerical	Men in general	70
Numbers	" " "	80
Names		
Strong		
Group I (Human Science)	Men in the occupations	B—
Group II (Technical Science)	" " " "	C+
Group V (Personnel)	" " " "	A
Group VIII (Business detail)	" " " "	B
Group IX (Business contact)	" " " "	B+
Group X (Verbal)	" " " "	C
Carpenter	" " " "	B—
Printer	" " " "	B
Farmer	" " " "	C+

As he begins to try to fit these facts into some pattern, Mr. Larson thinks back to his first interview with Peter Hardy two weeks before. He remembers him as a slight, fresh-faced boy appearing younger than his eighteen years. It would have been easy to react to him in a fatherly, protecting way because of this youthfulness and because of a disarming simplicity of manner, free from conceit or aggressiveness. He had not thought of him then as an outstandingly intelligent person. In fact he remembers thinking that Peter's difficulty might simply be that he was out of his depth in college. Mr. Larson takes another look at the ACE and the Coöperative test scores as well as at the high school record. Here is the first question around which some of the facts can be grouped. Why has the world, including Mr. Larson and even including Peter himself, so completely failed to recognize the boy's real intellectual ability? Why has he given so little evidence of it in his school work? The one possibility that suggests itself from the test record is the below-average English score. The counselor notes in this connection that in the information blank Peter has filled out there are six mis-spelled words, and that his response to the question, "What problems would you like to talk over with a counselor?" is written in a childish, almost unintelligible scrawl. Inability to express himself clearly in writing could certainly operate to pull down his grades, especially in subjects where essay examinations are the rule. He remembers that it is English themes and history that Peter mentioned specifically as giving him trouble. This line of thought leads to another question, "Why did a boy with this much intelligence and reading ability fail to develop the elementary skills of written expression?" Perhaps the contrast between his laborer father and his schoolteacher mother had something to do with it. Could his wildness at an earlier age also be a symptom of such a conflict? But Mr. Larson draws himself back from further speculation along

these lines. He is committed to a client-centered philosophy and feels that such a diagnosis at this stage is not only unnecessary but might actually blind him to attitudes and feelings as they are expressed in subsequent interviews. "At any rate," he says to himself, "the fact that his motives during the junior high school years were steering him in the direction of hardness and adventure might have kept him from learning much during that period in English which is commonly regarded as a 'sissy' subject."

So much for the underachievement, but Mr. Larson remembers that it was not this that Mr. Hardy saw as his principal problem. What help can the test results give in vocational decisions? He notes immediately that the high score on the social science achievement test fits in well with the A on Group V, the social service group on the Strong. This suggests the broad area including teaching and school administration, personnel work, and related occupations. He asks himself why this has not occurred to Peter as a possibility before. The only profession he has even vaguely considered, that of law, is one in which the Strong gives him a flat C if the Group X score can be taken as an indication. He turns to the Strong blank itself to see if reading through some of the boy's specific likes and dislikes reveals anything about his motivation. The first thing that strikes him is that there are almost no "dislikes," a few "indifferents," but the vast majority of occupations and activities marked L. This of course would tend to produce a C on the verbal group and an A on Group V, because this is a peculiarity of these keys. He turns to Strong's book to verify the point. But just what does the fact mean in Peter's case? Are his significant scores artifacts of some response set, or can they really be taken to mean interests like those of the occupational groups? Why does he register this indiscriminate L response? Could this too arise from incompatibilities in the father's and mother's value systems and the boy's attempt not to repudiate

either of them? If so, could the vocational indecision arise from the same source? Again it is not for Mr. Larson to answer the question and thus make a neat diagnosis but rather to present all the facts to Peter, whose own thinking about what the facts mean will be more valuable than any his counselor could do on the basis of present evidence.

Aside from this social service emphasis there is nothing in the test record particularly relevant to vocational choice. So far as special clerical and mechanical aptitudes can be evaluated from the brief tests given it can only be said that both appear to be within the average range. Peter would not be disqualified from entering either broad field because of inadequate ability. Mr. Larson knows too much about the reliabilities of the tests to attempt to be any more precise than this on the basis of percentiles of 60, 70, and 80. No particular interests in mechanical or scientific directions are in evidence, and science and mathematics achievement scores, while satisfactory, are not outstanding enough to warrant considering specialization along those lines. Something in business, however, might be a possibility. The B+ on Group IX, the sales occupations, fits in with his enjoyment of the work in the grocery store.

Having come this far with his own analysis of the data Mr. Larson is ready to outline the main things he has to communicate to Peter and try to decide how to *begin* the communication task. He need plan ahead no farther than that, since from then on the interview will take whatever shape Peter wishes to give it. The principal ideas in connection with which all the test results can be brought in seem to be as follows:

1. Tests show superior mental ability and indicate capacity for considerably better school achievement than has been shown so far. The only handicap is English expression which, while not impossibly low, is considerably below the college average.

2. The one general occupational area suggested by both interest and

achievement scores is social service. Business contact work is suggested by the interest test and not ruled out by anything in the rest of the data. No score is low enough to disqualify him from mechanical or technical occupations either, but the interest test does not point in that direction.

3. Two questions stand out. Why is his achievement in English low? Why does he register so few dislikes on the Strong? Answers to both of these might help to understand his uncertainty.

In making the decision as to where to begin, Mr. Larson first rules out number 3. He realizes that Peter will come to the interview eager to get a report on the tests he has taken and that to ask him these questions at the beginning might stir up anxiety or defensiveness rather than lead to productive thinking. The choice between alternatives 1 and 2 is more difficult. To be told suddenly that one is much brighter than he has supposed is not necessarily encouraging. To assimilate such knowledge sometimes involves a radical readjustment of one's self concept. Perhaps it would be better to bring this in more gradually. On the other hand, to begin with the vocational question, while it has the advantage of giving the boy first what he himself has asked for, may suggest too simple a solution too soon. Suppose he quickly decides that a career as a school administrator appeals to him. In this case the underlying motivation may never come to light at all and some new crisis may catch him as unprepared as did the shift from high school to college. However, all things considered, the counselor decides to begin with number 2, but to make sure that somehow before the interview ends all the facets of the test pattern come in for some consideration. He is ready now to see Peter Hardy.

This is an example of the kind of thinking involved in organizing test results for reporting to a client. It is in no sense a model or outline to be followed. The very essence of the matter is that there can be no standard technique for synthesizing these data. Each client is unique: his attitudes toward life and work, his relationship to the counselor, and the circumstances within which

he must function are not like those of anyone else. This means that even if his test profile should be identical with that of a previous counselee, the way the counselor would organize his scores and report them might be different from the way he did it on the previous occasion.

Certain general recommendations as to how to approach the task can, however, be made. In the first place, it is advisable to get the background factors firmly in mind before considering the test scores. As was stressed in the chapter on records, cold objectivity is not what is wanted here. What we try to do is to comprehend the client's world as it seems to him. To have had a satisfying first interview with him and taken good notes on it are decided advantages. From this vantage point we can anticipate to some extent how the results of the testing he has undergone are going to affect him. Will he be completely dismayed at this low score on the Miller Analogies or will he turn with something like relief to some career plan not calling for graduate training? How is he going to feel about this A on the Strong CPA scale, in view of the fact that his father, whom he hates and admires and above all wants to break away from, is an accountant? Adopting the client's point of view enables us to sort out test results into those which are in keeping with his wishes and expectations and those which are out of line with them.

Another good rule is to pay particular attention to discrepancies in the case data—items that do not seem to fit together. If two tests, presumably of the same trait, give widely different scores, the reason for the difference should be analyzed. (As indicated before, if the research background of either or both is deficient, it may be impossible to make anything of such findings.) In some cases interests and abilities seem not to go together. A student may have high academic aptitudes and high scores in standardized tests and course grades in science and mathematics and yet get C's on all the science scales of the Strong. Sometimes the claimed

interests differ markedly from those the interest test reveals. A girl may insist that she wants to be an artist or writer and that she finds routine work of any sort intolerable and yet turn up with A's on the Strong Office Worker and Housewife scales. Sometimes basic emotional needs may run counter to the whole ability and interest pattern as when a brilliant talented girl hesitates to enter a profession requiring long training for fear she will jeopardize her chances for marriage and a family.

Few case records are free from any such discrepancies. As the counselor studies each he fits the conflicting evidence into some larger pattern if he can and then looks for supporting data in other parts of the record. The fact that Mr. Bartholemew's ACE score is so much lower than his Ohio score may show that he cannot work fast. Is there a consistent tendency for his other scores to be higher on untimed than on timed tests? Mary Stanley's protest against routine work may reflect the attitudes of the circle in which she moves, a circle in which it is the accepted thing to be contemptuous of ordinary office workers. Have we any information as to who her friends are? If no such way of reconciling a conflict is apparent, the counselor simply makes a mental note that this is something he and the client will face during the interview and try to work out together.

In vocational counseling a sort of patterning of test information that is quite generally applicable is evaluating the significance of the obtained scores in connection with each of several alternative career plans. This is especially to be recommended in cases where clients come in with definite possibilities in mind, although it is never necessary to limit oneself to the things they have mentioned, and even with a completely undecided person like Peter Hardy the method may still be applicable. As has been said earlier, many writers on counseling have used such an analysis as a basis for prognoses, or predictions as to the probability of success in each occupation, and the technique was made a funda-

mental part of the standard procedure the Veterans Administration adopted in its counseling centers. This way of handling test data works just as well if we stop short of the actual making of clinical predictions, a task which the available evidence indicates we cannot carry out accurately enough to do the client any good. The first step is to think of a number of occupations we have some reason to consider. The next is to go through the case information seeking material that has something to do with the person's assets and liabilities along each of these lines. The procedure both stimulates the counselor's thinking and suggests possible openings for the subsequent interview. Within this framework the level of achievement on a number of tests can be organized intelligibly. Its main weakness is that it is *too* well-organized, too logical to apply in all situations. Where subtle emotional undertones pervade the thinking about choices, it may not be possible to incorporate them in the foregoing scheme. It is better for a counselor to keep a flexible attitude and be ready to shift to some other type of patterning if it seems more appropriate. The attempts to fit the facts into this kind of mold may even serve to show up factors which elude the classification. And even if the interview following testing has been planned in this manner, the perceptive counselor is always ready to abandon the plans if matters take an unexpected turn.

Once a person has developed a high degree of skill in analyzing test results, integrating them with background materials, and discovering patterns in terms of which they can be organized, the whole process may require no more of his time than it has taken to read the preceding explanation of it. Always, however, some cases will take longer than others, and a few will be exceptionally intricate and puzzling. It is from his reaction toward these people whose records "just don't make sense" that a person's basic attitudes toward his clients and his work can often be judged. The good counselor accepts the challenge such a case presents without

any hard feelings, realizing that it is people of this sort who need counseling most, since usually their lives do not make sense to them either. Instead of exclaiming in exasperation, "What do you do with a boy who shows no special talents, gets no A's or B+'s on the Strong test, and seems to be enthusiastic about nothing except making bows and arrows!" he will think of ways of encouraging the boy to formulate in words what he really wants out of life. When one's best efforts fail to produce an intelligible pattern in the test scores, one can always begin the interview with a brief explanation of what is unusual about the record and let the client go on from there.

After the information to be given has been organized the next problem is how best to communicate it to the client. Our aim is to enable him to form a sound idea of his own assets and liabilities, the raw materials with which he must work in building his future. It is not necessary to give him exact scores or detailed technical information about tests. It is what the test results show about himself that he wishes to know.

The first aspect of the counselor's preparation for this task, the organization of the facts into a pattern that can be easily grasped and kept in mind, has already been discussed in some detail. The second is a matter of sensing what the client is really seeking from counseling. We know enough about the influence of wishes on beliefs to realize that a person's understanding of the significance of his own test record will depend to some extent on what he *needs* to think about himself. The more clearly the counselor can sense what these needs are the more likely he will be to put what he has to say in terms that can be accepted. There is no merit in stating facts unless they mean something to the person hearing them. Communication must communicate.

An example will make this clearer. Two college students have very similar test profiles. Both are below the tenth percentile in college aptitude, below average in all subject-matter fields, but

above the 90th percentile on mechanical aptitude tests. Both have A's only on Group II and the skilled labor scales of the Strong. Bill Brown is in college because his father wished to give him advantages that he himself did not have. Bill's own inclinations were to get a job in a local lumber mill, marry his high school sweetheart, and settle down to the sort of small town life he loves. He has been making poor grades about which he feels a little guilty. The whole college situation is getting more and more uncomfortable. He has come to the Counseling Center with a half-formulated hope that something will turn up to justify his getting out of these uncongenial surroundings. John Allen, on the other hand, is the only child of a widowed mother who adores him and is certain that he has a brilliant future. She has made great sacrifices to insure that he get a college education. One of John's most fundamental assumptions around which his whole life is organized is that he must not disappoint her. He must make a good record; he must graduate; he must get into a profession. If the going gets hard he must work harder. He has come to the Counseling Center to see if he can find out why he is having so much trouble making his grades and what he can do to remedy his deficiencies. A simple factual statement such as "Your best abilities seem to be in fields that haven't much to do with college work" will be accepted eagerly by Bill, rejected completely by John. Similar as the facts to be communicated are, the wise counselor will not express them in the same way in the two cases.

For one thing there is always freedom to choose what to begin with. As we have shown in the Peter Hardy example, when a number of scores on several different tests have been organized into a pattern there are likely to be several alternatives. In choosing between them the first aim should be to minimize defensive reactions. They are a handicap in any counseling situation and are particularly to be avoided here, since they will work against the acceptance and use of the information the tests bring. One

good way of forestalling the development of defensive attitudes is to relate the first statement made to something the client has previously said, a question he has asked or a choice that he has made. In the example of the preceding paragraph, one knows that the statement quoted will work very well for Bill because he has indicated in the previous interview that he thinks he is better suited for something else than for college. In reporting to John the counselor might begin, "I can see from the interest test you took why you decided on a science major. Your likes and dislikes seem to be more like those of technical scientists and men working with machinery and tools than like those of any other group. But the tests also suggest some reasons why you might expect to have trouble with some of the college courses in science." This opening does more than report what the interest test showed and lead into a discussion of the boy's deficiencies. It helps to get across at the same time the counselor's acceptance of John, his respect for his capacity to understand himself, and a generally sympathetic but not protective attitude. Again it must be emphasized that if it is to be effective the counselor must really feel that way about John. Any contempt for students who score low on intelligence tests will poison the atmosphere in spite of efforts to conceal it.

Often but not always it is well to begin with interest tests rather than ability tests, since clients are less likely to feel a need to be defensive about them. Often but not always it is advisable to mention high scores before low ones for the same reason. But no general rule can be laid down about these things, human motivation being as diverse and complicated as it is. A boy who is in active protest against a dominating physician father may be more upset by being told that he himself has the interests of a doctor than by anything else the counselor might tell him. The girl who has convinced herself that her poor grades are the result of a lack of reading skill may find it difficult to accept the fact that her reading test scores are excellent, since believing this opens

the way for vague anxieties as to what really *is* wrong with her.

The only essentials for making good decisions as to how to begin are perceptiveness and goodwill on the part of the counselor, arrangements that permit a leisurely, comfortable first interview in which underlying motivations can be expressed, and enough time to think over the meaning of the test results before attempting to report them. For these there are no substitutes.

In addition to planning how to begin, the counselor needs also to devote some thought to exact terms he will use in his explanation. Here as in all interviewing it is important to avoid words that have unfavorable emotional connotations. A synonym that has the same objective meaning but does not carry these connotations is more than a euphemism. It is a genuine tool in the counselor's workbox. In his work, bluntness is no virtue. Thus it is usually better not to speak of any counseling test as an "intelligence test." It is always possible to use a more specific term, depending upon what specific test has been used. "Academic aptitude" is one substitute term, but it is somewhat ponderous and technical sounding. Sometimes it is feasible to speak of "vocabulary and verbal skills" or "ability to learn things from books." Obviously this is a touchier point for low scorers than for high. Another family of words it is usually best to avoid consists of terms like "neurotic" and "maladjusted." "Masculinity" and "femininity" should in general be placed on the proscribed list. Besides these terms related to spots that are sensitive in a great many people there are individual sensitive areas a counselor will occasionally strike. One student admitted after counseling was over, though he gave no indication at the time, that a reference to personality as a *complex* thing upset him considerably. To him "complexity" had frightening implications.

The need to sense what an individual will take as an affront or a cause for alarm and the impossibility of avoiding such reactions entirely lead into the next general principle governing the report-

ing of test results. It is that there should always be time and opportunity for the expression of attitudes about the information that has been communicated. No urge to get on with the business and finish what has been started should stand in the way of the client's thinking out loud and thus coming to terms with the facts about himself. If Henry Rowlandson gives some sign of disappointment when he learns that his percentile rank on the college aptitude test is 85, the disappointment should be recognized and accepted so that he may analyze it further if he wishes. By saying simply, "You're disappointed that it isn't higher," the counselor can clear the way for such expression. Handling this aspect of the interview skillfully requires good timing and close attention. Too much information must not be thrown at the person all at once. He must be given time to take it in—to realize its meaning. The same perceptiveness, the same knack of feeling what the other person is feeling about things, is called for here as in the rest of the interview.

The use of the term "percentile rank of 85" in the preceding paragraph suggests a more exact quantitative statement than would ordinarily be given. As has been said before, unreliability makes test scores much less precise than they appear to be. Because of inequalities in the percentile scale it is not possible to make any kind of standard allowance for this inaccuracy. On the other hand, if standard scores rather than percentiles are reported it is practically impossible to explain briefly to a non-statistical listener just what such a score means. Thus it is usually better for the counselor to make the adjustments for type of score, amount of error, and section of the distribution, and then to put the quantitative fact in simple, qualitative terms. This is most easily done by telling the person in what part of a specified group the test classifies him, as explained in the previous chapter. The less reliable the test or the nearer the middle of the percentile distribution the individual falls, the broader will be the category

to which he is assigned. Thus if he obtains percentile scores of 58 and 39 on two tests with reliabilities of .89 he may simply be told that he is within the average range on both and then given whatever information is available from validity studies as to what can be expected of persons at that level. If his percentile is *two*, however, on a test with a reliability of .95 it is possible to be considerably more specific and say something like, "Not more than two or three per cent of the students taking this test score lower than you do." (Naturally what was said above about beginning with something that will not be disturbing and being careful how the trait in question is labeled apply here. But the fact that he is so decisively low is something we should try to get across to him, since it is a fact he must adjust himself to whether he knows it or not. To communicate information like this in a kindly non-disparaging manner is a difficult but very essential counseling task.)

Hard as it may often be to give information without advice, it is this that one should attempt to do. Otherwise the structure of the counseling situation loses its clarity. Even when the advice is nothing more definite and compelling than what is embodied in statements beginning, "If I were you . . . ," or "It seems to me . . . ," the client who has been led to expect that he is to make the decisions may sense that pressure is being applied and shift his attitude in the direction of dependence or defensiveness. There are some circumstances, of course, where the final decision actually is not in the client's hands. Public Law 16 cases under the Veterans Administration were of such a nature. For a man to be authorized to enter training it was necessary that the counselor indicate his approval of the plan worked out. In the same category are cases where the counselor's judgment will decide whether or not a student is to be disqualified from further college work. In such instances it should be clear from the beginning that this is how matters stand. The structure of the situation is somewhat different, and the client should realize this.

Before leaving the subject of testing, it might be well for us to consider a few specific questions that counselors and would-be counselors often raise. Should clients be allowed to *see* their test profiles or their scores on specific test blanks? In general the answer follows from what has been said about the ways in which results are to be reported. It is better to explain to the person in qualitative terms how well he has done than to give him a specific quantitative score and then try to clear up all the possible misapprehensions that may arise from it. Thus it is usually inadvisable to give him his scores to look at. However, there is no invariable rule about this. When a client insists on seeing the scores themselves it is certainly far better to show them to him than to risk giving the impression that the counselor is concealing something. And for students who are psychology or education majors with some background in testing, practice in applying what they have learned in the interpretation of their own results is definitely helpful.

Should the testing in any one case be done all at once or spread over a period of time with interviews intervening between tests? Some counselors like to give only an interest test after the first interview. Then during the second interview interests showing up on this test are discussed and decisions made as to what further test information is needed to check up on possibilities suggested. A procedure like this is certainly workable and seems advisable in some cases, particularly those in which the person is completely lacking in ideas at the beginning. There are, however, at least two objections to its being adopted as standard routine. For one thing it is more time-consuming than the system of planning the whole test program at once. Furthermore, and probably a more important consideration, it can easily lead to the making of decisions on inadequate grounds. A student may be pleased to find out that the Strong test gives him an A as an architect and decide not to take time for any more tests. Thus a mathematics deficiency

may not show up until some time later when failure in a required course makes it painfully apparent. We should try to insure that if a client gets any picture of his interests and abilities at all it should be a well-rounded picture. As has been so often stressed in preceding paragraphs it is the pattern or total organization of his tested characteristics that a person needs to understand. Getting tests one at a time is likely to make it harder to grasp this.

Should some sort of written report be prepared at the conclusion of vocational counseling so that the client will be able to refer to it later? If there is time to make an individual organized synthesis of all relevant data after a case is completed such a report may have considerable value. A standardized form, however, cannot take the place of this kind of personal summary. Simply to list test results and possible vocational choices may be useless or even misleading. Here again perhaps we can be guided by our client's wishes. Anyone who especially asks for a report should have it, as carefully thought out and expressed as possible. Whether it is given to those who do not request it can depend upon the amount of free time available. Other tasks have a more convincing claim on the counselor's limited hours than has this one.

Probably no other supplementary field has contributed so much to the effectiveness of counseling as has mental testing. Probably also more errors and blunders have been made in this area than in any other. By schooling himself in mental test principles and by keeping clearly in mind the purposes tests serve in the total counseling enterprise, a professional worker should be able to reap the benefits and at the same time to avoid the mistakes.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

There have been few studies planned specifically to evaluate methods of integrating tests with counseling, although there has been much

discussion of the problem in recent years. Seeman (136) was interested in the question of self-selection of tests by the client. Fifty clients of two counselors using self-selection procedures were the subjects of the study. The criteria as to whether an adequate selection had been made were: (1) the per cent of all tests available for actuarial or clinical prediction of something related to the client's questions that were chosen, and (2) the difference between the frequencies of the technical and social science groups choosing spatial relations. On both criteria, self-selection seemed to work well. Some 93 per cent of all tests available for prediction were chosen, and there was a significant difference between the two groups in the choice of spatial relations tests. Client reactions to the procedure differed. There was some indication that indecision about what tests to take was related to indecision in other areas.

Kamm and Wrenn (85) have investigated factors related to acceptance and non-acceptance of information about the self. Forty educational-vocational planning interviews recorded by one counselor were rated by three judges on various characteristics. The judgment as to whether self-information had or had not been accepted was made on the basis of post-interview inquiry, and one-month and four-month follow-ups. The detailed data are not given in the published paper but the relationships are summarized. Acceptance of information is related to relaxed attitudes by both interview participants, positive attitudes as expressed by the counselee, readiness for counseling help, relationship to the immediate problem, and whether or not it requires a modification of the self-concept. (Information suggesting a change of plans is less readily accepted than information suggesting their continuation.) Acceptance is unrelated to many factors, including length of the interview, time of day, amount of client talk, academic aptitude, personality pattern, and social status.

Dressel and Matteson (44) have tried to assess the effect of client participation in test interpretation. They started with three hypotheses: (1) that clients who participate more gain more in self-understanding; (2) that clients who participate more are more certain of their final vocational choice; and (3) that clients who participate more are more

satisfied. Forty recorded interviews representing seven counselors were used. All subjects were freshmen who had taken a standard test battery. Interviews were rated by four judges on a client participation scale, and students took a test of self-understanding and answered questions about their vocational satisfaction and security before, right after, and two months after counseling. Analysis of variance showed significant differences for counselors, students, and raters on the participation variable, with the difference between counselors the most pronounced. Differences between one counselor and another on client participation were related to two of the criteria, self-understanding and vocational security, but not to the third, satisfaction. This was true both immediately and two months after the conclusion of counseling. Differences between clients of the same counselor on the participation variable seemed *not* to be related to these things. That is, the counselors who succeed in getting clients to participate more seem to achieve more self-understanding and certainty of direction in them than do those who stimulate less participation. The related conclusion that *clients* who participate more get more out of the situation regardless of who the counselor is cannot, however, be drawn. Again this would seem to point to the importance of the personality and attitude of the counselor rather than to the use of a standard technique.

Evaluation. While the studies having to do with the integration of testing with counseling have been few in number they are well-designed and informative. In general they support the recommendations that have been made for unhurried interviews where responsiveness and sensitivity on the counselor's part encourage participation on the part of the client in the selection and interpretation of tests.

VII

The Counselor's Use of Occupational Information

In the short history of counseling as a profession information about occupations has occupied a prominent position. It was the complexity of the situation a young person confronts when he tries to make an intelligent occupational choice that first made educators aware of the need for guidance. Since the beginning of our century the vocational guidance movement has grown and flourished. Its principal organization, The National Association for Vocational Guidance, is large and influential. Several government departments and dozens of private publishing companies have undertaken to provide occupational pamphlets and other printed materials about jobs. Just how does all this activity and this wealth of resources fit into the general counselor's task which we have been describing?

While there has been a tendency for schools to move forward from narrow vocational guidance services to broader counseling programs designed to meet a variety of student needs, we must never lose sight of the importance of occupational choice. A psychologically trained counselor may be more interested in the intricacies of personal attitudes than he is in facts about jobs, but those facts are just as essential as they ever were to young people

planning their futures. He might prefer to leave to a specialist the task of providing clients with information of this sort, but in hundreds of high schools and colleges throughout the country a high degree of specialization in personnel services is impossible.

As the vocational guidance movement has grown, its emphasis has been less exclusively on the dissemination of occupational information. At the beginning it was thought that this was the chief if not the only thing it was necessary to do. It was assumed that a person who saw clearly what various jobs were like, what qualities they required in a man, and what their advantages and disadvantages were, would be in a position to decide without difficulty which one suited him best. Experience has taught us that a person is likely to be as ignorant of his own assets and liabilities as he is of job characteristics, and the testing movement has arisen as a result. More recently the importance of complicated attitudes and emotional factors in even apparently simple vocational decisions has forced itself upon us and much discussion in counseling circles now centers around these issues. What we must be careful of, as we move on to fresh emphases, is not to lose sight of the significance of those that preceded them. The whole problem of wise vocational choice is undoubtedly far more complicated than the pioneer guidance workers thought it was, but the client still needs to be given the relevant information about fields of work in a form that enables him to assimilate it.

The counselor or counseling trainee who sets out to acquire proficiency in the use of occupational materials is confronted with an embarrassment of riches. There are hundreds of books, thousands of pamphlets and leaflets. The flood of printed matter flowing from presses all over the country continues unceasingly. If one could by some superhuman effort read all of the publications available this week he would find that by next week he was already in arrears, and that some of the things he had covered had become obsolete. This is of necessity a field in which one can-

not know everything. The problem is one of selecting and organizing materials and of filing them for ready reference rather than of knowing all their contents.

There are, however, certain guiding principles and some broad sorts of background knowledge that give us bases for organizing facts about jobs and selecting the most valuable materials. Much of this background has come from the work of the Division of Occupational Analysis (formerly the Occupational Research Program) of the United States Employment Service. This research, which has been going on over a period of about twenty years, has brought order into a highly complex body of information and assembled many kinds of material in usable form.

Their greatest single achievement, one with which every counselor should be thoroughly familiar, is the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (185). Volume I of the 1949 edition of this indispensable reference work consists of clear, simple, one-paragraph descriptions of some 22,000 occupations (40,000 separate job titles), arranged alphabetically for ready reference. It is not designed primarily for counselors, but is meant to serve all kinds of people who need job knowledge—personnel men, employment interviewers, social workers. Where it is most useful to the counselor is in the fairly common situation in which a client has some vague notion of what he would like to do but lacks any real understanding of what the activities involved in such work really are. Take fifteen-year-old Henry Jewett, for example. He mentions during his first interview that he has always thought he would like to be some sort of fish and game specialist, as he is a great lover of the outdoors and has been enthusiastic about hunting since he was a small boy. He knows that there are men whose work has something to do with state and federal conservation programs, but he is completely in the dark as to what their jobs are like and how they have prepared for them. Until he knows a little more it is impossible for him to evaluate his own suitability

or to decide on tests that will help him evaluate it. This is the time to consult the Dictionary. Henry and the counselor look under "Fish" and find two types of work described, the "Fish and Wildlife Specialist," who is an applied scientist, and the "Fish and Game Warden," who is a sort of outdoors policeman. It is the first of these that interests Henry particularly, and he can now ask himself whether he has the general academic ability and the specialized science talents and interests to enable him to do well with a college course of this nature. What he reads in the Dictionary at this early stage of the counseling process should not be permitted to influence him to decide definitely on anything. But it can clarify the questions he will use counseling to help him answer.

Even more valuable to the counselor than Volume I with its thumbnail sketches of thousands of occupations is Volume II, Occupational Classification, in which the groupings of jobs worked out by the Occupational Research Program are set forth. One of the most useful findings from all the research on occupations is that we can consider them in groups or clusters based on essential similarities. This of course facilitates the work of the manpower specialist who in time of war must transfer large numbers of workers from inessential to essential jobs. It also enables the counselor to think intelligently about young people's vocational problems. We no longer believe that it is necessary or desirable for a boy in his early teens to choose a specific job—traffic policeman, for example, or radio engineer—and focus all his career planning on it. In our rapidly changing society no-one can know with any certainty exactly what types of goods and services will be most in demand ten years hence. It is far better that a person be flexible in his outlook, able to shift from one niche to another, than that he fasten his attention rigidly on one goal. Thus it is general areas or *types* of work upon which an individual can decide in advance. It is the counselor's responsibility to help him

get started in the right direction, not to show him precisely what lies at the end of the path.

The classification given in Volume II of the Dictionary helps us think along these lines. There have been, of course, many other classification systems, some of which are still in use. But gradually this one has become standard in more and more situations, so that it constitutes a common basis for all whose work requires thinking about jobs. First of all they are divided into major categories each of which is given a code number. The digit representing the major group to which a specific job belongs is always the first digit of its code number. The groups are as follows:

0. Professional and managerial.
1. Clerical and sales.
2. Service.
3. Agricultural, fishery, forestry, etc.
4. Skilled trades—manufacturing.
5. Skilled trades—non-manufacturing.
6. Semi-skilled—manufacturing.
7. Semi-skilled—non-manufacturing.
8. Unskilled—manufacturing.
9. Unskilled—non-manufacturing.

Within each of these main classes occupations are grouped into smaller categories, each of which is given a two-digit number. In the code number for a specific job, this two-digit number follows the single digit which indicates the major class. Thus within the 0 category all kinds of teachers carry the numbers 0–30 to 0–32, all kinds of engineers the numbers 0–14 to 0–20. The professions requiring long periods of training are designated by numbers from 0–01 to 0–39. The semi-professional occupations carry numbers from 0–41 to 0–69, the managerial and official 0–71 to 0–99. In the clerical category, all kinds of secretaries are numbered 1–33, all kinds of bookkeepers 1–01. Similarly, in the skilled trades section, repairmen and servicemen are labeled 5–79 to 5–83.

The last three digits, and in some highly differentiated fields the last four, refer to a specific job different in some way from any other. Thus, 5–81 stands for motor vehicle repairmen, but 5–81.110 stands for brake-drum-lathe operator.

The classification system is useful to the counselor in at least two ways. First it offers him a sound, ready-made pattern for classifying and filing all the printed matter about occupations that he receives. Generally speaking, the first three digits afford a fine enough breakdown for this purpose. With a plainly labeled folder for each three-digit group he can file in a limited space a vast amount of material, the Dictionary serving as an index to the file. As new materials come in, it is a simple matter to place them in the proper folders. After a time the folder for Chemist, for example, code number 0–07, might contain a monograph giving a complete description of this profession, a list of colleges recommended for training, and a forecast of manpower needs in this field over a ten-year period. All the facts a client may need are thus collected in this one readily accessible spot. Such a filing system does not quite hold all the occupational materials a counselor accumulates. There may still have to be one or more "Miscellaneous" folders. Publications on government work, for example, or on careers for girls cover too wide a range of things to justify placing them under any one three-digit code number. With such minor additions, however, the plan works very well.

The other use of the classification to the counselor is more important. It provides him with a systematic means for canvassing the whole world of occupations to make sure that no sort of work that might suit a client is overlooked. During the preparation period before the interview in which vocational possibilities are to be discussed, he does more than organize test scores and integrate them with other information about the client. He considers also various careers that might be feasible for this person, trying not to limit his thinking to those which were mentioned

during the initial interview. It is in this connection that leafing through Volume II may bring to mind possibilities that would not otherwise have occurred to him. With the coherent picture of the client in mind which he has gained through interviews, records, and tests, he can turn directly to the section which seems to fit in with it best. He tries to evaluate from the client's viewpoint the kinds of work listed there. Barney Hinson, for example, has a high clerical aptitude test score, above-average general intelligence, and a marked predilection for white-collar occupations. In view of these facts the counselor turns to the 1 section and runs his eye down over the long list he finds there. Since Barney seems to have shown somewhat more aptitude for working with figures than for working with words he looks first at sub-sections headed 1–01, 1–02, 1–06, 1–08, 1–26, and 1–36. He finds some jobs with which he is not at all familiar. He looks them up in Volume I to find out what they are. Then he notices a group that had not entered his mind before, the Timekeepers. How would such a job suit Barney? At the end of this brief survey he has jotted down half a dozen possibilities that Barney has not mentioned and has probably never thought about. Some or all of them will come up for consideration in the next interview. It is to be noted that he has not picked out a job for the client and is not preparing to sell him a new idea. That would be out of keeping with the counseling relationship he has worked hard to create. He is simply insuring that the task the two of them are working on together, the consideration of occupational alternatives and the choice of one, will be carried out as thoroughly and efficiently as possible.

In organizing his thinking about jobs a counselor finds concepts of "field" and "level" very useful. Generally speaking, all jobs can be arranged in a space marked off by these two dimensions. "Field" refers to special kinds of activity that differentiate one type of work from others, the operation of machines, for instance, from the growing of plants. "Level" is a more complex idea, diffi-

cult to define precisely. Almost everyone knows what it means, in a general way. Thus in the machine field the man who performs a repetitive operation in a factory ranks below the man who repairs the machines and keeps them in running order. He in turn represents a lower level than the person who installs the machines and organizes the sequence of processes. The engineer who designs them stands at the top of the pyramid. The level a job occupies within any occupational field depends a good deal on the intelligence required for it and the length of time that must be spent in education or special training in order to perform it. In some fields but not others the amount of specialized skill or talent is the deciding factor. The concert violinist probably differs from the average player in an orchestra in the extent to which he is endowed with whatever musical talent is. But the aeronautical engineer probably differs from the mechanic who services planes at the airport not in mechanical ability but in capacity for mastering the abstractions of higher mathematics. Not infrequently level depends upon circumstances and opportunity rather than upon any psychological factors.

The Dictionary classification is based primarily upon differentiation of fields, although level does determine some parts of it, as the placing of professions in a single group and the 4, 6, 8 and 5, 7, 9 hierarchies of laborers. The use of Volume II as a tool in surveying a person's occupational possibilities is facilitated if one does his preliminary thinking in terms of these concepts. As he goes over the material he has about a client, the counselor tries first to ascertain the person's most promising fields and to make an estimate of the level he is likely to be able to attain in each. He can then turn to the sections of the Dictionary in which jobs of this nature are listed and examine them in detail.

The concept of occupational levels is related to what has always been one of the most vexing problems in vocational guidance. The hard facts are that regardless of what inspirational speakers

may say there is not nearly enough room at the top of our occupational structure to accommodate all who think that they belong there. When young people choose their life work, with or without counseling, far too many of them choose professions. Dozens of surveys have shown that something like half of the boys in high school contemplate professional careers, whereas census data show that in spite of a steady increase in this category from one decade to another, not more than 7 per cent of the working population can at present hope to earn their living in this way. A large proportion of American workers are laborers, unskilled or semiskilled, but almost nobody deliberately chooses one of these occupations. Thousands of boys see themselves as business men with businesses of their own, but with difficulties in the way of small businesses constantly increasing it is unlikely for most of them that their dreams can come true. By the time they reach an age where vocational guidance is applicable most American adolescents have been thoroughly steeped in the idea that it is one's duty as well as privilege to achieve outstanding success.

An important function that occupational information needs to serve in the counseling process is the injection of as much realism as possible into an individual's thinking. It would be out of keeping with the whole philosophy of counseling as we have been presenting it for the counselor to attempt to talk a client out of what seems an unwise, over-ambitious choice, but he can make sure that the person has all the relevant information. This means facts about the relative sizes of different occupations he is considering and the number of new openings each year. More important than this, it means facts about occupations at intermediate levels. It is these levels that students are likely to have ignored. It is a common occurrence for a college boy in academic difficulties to exclaim, "But I've *got* to make my grades and get a degree. I couldn't stand it to be a ditchdigger all my life!"

As the counselor scans Volume II for promising occupational

possibilities it is these semi-professional, skilled, or semi-skilled types of work that he often seeks to locate. A boy with a passion for airplanes may never have considered any occupation except pilot, although there are dozens of other jobs around planes that demand a high degree of skill and bring in good incomes. The girl who thinks she wants to be a doctor may be just as well pleased with physical or occupational therapy after she finds out something about what such specialized workers do.

It must be admitted, however, that to put a person in touch with intermediate level jobs does not always solve this counseling problem. There are many instances in which the lower-level occupation is *not* as attractive as the higher ones; the more authentic information a person gets the more clearly he realizes this. For example, the most attractive of all the professions at present seems to be medicine. Of the thousands of boys who start pre-medical courses each year, only a minority will complete medical courses and establish themselves as physicians. If those who are not outstandingly successful with the sciences could shift their attention to some other goal at the time they enter college they could avoid bitter disappointment later and could more intelligently map out their preparation for the occupations they will eventually enter. But to the boy with his mind set on the prestige and income that go with success in the medical profession any of the alternatives that may be presented are likely to appear dull and undesirable. A less demanding occupation within the medical field itself will look the dullest of all so that it is almost certain to be rejected outright. A career as a male nurse, an orderly, or an X-ray technician is no kind of equivalent for a career as a doctor in the thinking of boys who cling doggedly to their first choice.

This problem, which is perhaps unfortunately called "downgrading," leads us back to an emphasis on counseling situations that facilitate attitude changes. A realistic reduction in ambitions calls for occupational information, but it cannot be achieved by

occupational information alone. If all the interviewing is done in a situation rich in acceptance and understanding, so that defensiveness has been minimized and the person has been able to grasp and accept his own limitations, realism and clear thinking may gradually win out over inflated expectations. The word "gradually" must be stressed. It takes time for deep-lying attitudes to change. A young man who insists at the time of his first interview that he will never relinquish his ambition to be a mechanical engineer may be able to modify his self-concept sufficiently so that when a D in calculus appears on his grade record he is willing to reconsider the whole matter. A girl with a pretty voice but limited musical talents will almost certainly not give up her dreams of an operatic career overnight but if counseling releases her from a position where her very integrity depends upon maintaining that choice she may find herself turning with something like relief to secretarial work or primary teaching. It is because it is so fundamental to the success of all the other counseling skills that we discussed before anything else the use of the interview to create a secure, non-threatening relationship.

Besides Volume II of the Dictionary there are various other publications that help a counselor to canvass the occupational possibilities for a given individual. He may need to think in terms of entry occupations rather than those for which special training is required. Part IV of the previous edition of the Dictionary sets up a simpler classification of jobs for which young workers may qualify at the beginning of their careers, and shows how such jobs are related to personal traits, leisure time activities, casual work experience, and military and civilian training. Two bulletins, *School Courses and Related Careers*, by Bacher and Berkowitz (9), and *Ohio State and Occupations* (190) are useful to enable one to start from some school subject at which a client has excelled and identify fields of work related to this special competence. The *Minnesota Occupational Rating Scales* (114), with its classi-

fication based on ratings made by experts of the amount of academic ability, mechanical ability, social intelligence, clerical ability, musical talent, and artistic talent required in various kinds of work, can also serve to suggest possibilities that might otherwise have been overlooked.

Along with the understanding of the organization of specific kinds of work into the total occupational structure, which we have emphasized as one of the essentials of the counselor's background, should go a knowledge of the major trends with regard to these broad fields. He owes it to his client to make him familiar not only with what an occupation is like when one gets into it but also how good the prospects are for getting in when training is completed. We have touched on this point in discussing the imbalance between choices and opportunities at the professional level. It is just as true although not quite such a widespread problem with regard to other kinds of work.

The basic data for the two principal sides of our knowledge of trends, the size of an occupational field and whether it is increasing or decreasing, come from the census reports. Relative numbers of workers in the various occupations give us the first type of information. Comparisons of percentages decade by decade give us the second, at least in its long-term aspects. Fortunately it is not necessary that the counselor comb the census reports for these necessary facts himself. *The Occupational Outlook Handbook* published by the U. S. Department of Labor (189) presents them in clear, readable form.

Here again a counselor must differentiate between broad general information in terms of which he habitually thinks and specific facts about specific jobs which he will need to be able to refer to in order to answer clients' questions. Material included in the first 32 pages of the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* is of the first sort, showing as it does what is happening to each of the major occupational divisions represented by the first digit of the Dic-

tionary coding system. The professions constitute a numerically small group, but the proportion in them has been increasing steadily from decade to decade. Clerical and sales jobs make up a large *and* increasing division. The group of service occupations is of intermediate size, and the percentage of workers has also shown a steady increase although some sub-groups such as domestic workers have declined markedly. Agriculture is a very large class which is constantly taking in a decreasing proportion of the country's workers. All of the Laborer groups are large, with the skilled just about holding their own, the semi-skilled increasing, and the unskilled decreasing. Such major trends can be kept in mind without difficulty. They should be supplemented by knowledge as to which kinds of work people stay with longer before retirement so as to cut down on replacement needs, also how population increases are distributed over the country, thus making for regional differences, and which kinds of work are employing increasing numbers of women. All these main trends are summarized with exceptional clarity in the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, along with more detailed information with regard to each main field and industry and many individual jobs within each. It thus serves as both a source of essential general information for the counselor and a reference for both counselor and client when they are in search of specific facts. It is kept up to date by the publication of supplementary reports and periodic revisions.

In this area of knowledge it is not enough to learn the basic facts once and for all. Short-term trends are constantly grafting themselves into the long-term ones in ways which completely alter the outlook for individual occupations. The country undertakes an enlarged defense program, and the demand for engineers increases far more than would have been predicted from census data. Increasing birth rates resulting from the war situation create an almost insatiable demand for elementary school teachers, while a change in selective service policies produces a

marked curtailment in the demand for college instructors. The counselor must form the habit of sensing the occupational implications of events as they occur. He must keep up with current materials as they come to him in pamphlets, journal summaries, and periodic reports of research organizations.

So far as trends for specific occupations are concerned, the better pamphlets include summaries of relevant information along with other facts. It is advisable to look for such summaries when choosing materials for the reference file.

The counselor should be thoroughly familiar with the kinds of education or special training required by the main kinds of work. Without making a special effort he is likely to know which occupations require a college degree, since he himself has come through that particular channel. By one means or another he must also find out how persons in the clerical and sales, agriculture, service, skilled, and semi-skilled divisions prepare for their jobs. For what groups do special trade schools function? In which do apprenticeship plans operate? What is the relationship of trade school and apprentices to unions?

We touch on this subject only briefly because most of this material is of a local nature and must be obtained in the community and state where one lives. State departments of education are often prepared to furnish some of the information and to supplement it as need arises. Vocational schools, both public and private, are glad to send catalogs on request. Apprenticeship programs are directed by some central agency which can give the counselor the facts about the trades in which the program operates and the type of young person it serves. The local employment office can tell him something about what employers are requiring in applicants for various jobs.

Knowledge of local demands and trends is also important. It cannot be assumed that a client will necessarily pass the remainder of his life in his home town or even in his home state, but he

should certainly be informed as to which career plans are possible in the region and which are not. Often too the availability of training facilities in the area will make a great difference in whether or not a student can finance the kind of educational plan that suits him best.

As has been indicated at the beginning, all of the background knowledge a counselor can possibly have will carry him only a part of the way in his task of promoting sound vocational decisions. He must be able to put clients in touch with detailed dependable information bearing on specific choices. This means assembling and maintaining a file of current publications. A relatively small amount of money will procure a considerable quantity of pamphlet material, but care must be taken in its selection. In 1939 the National Vocational Guidance Association issued a report explaining the standards they considered important (188). These are as follows:

1. The study should state specifically what organization or groups sponsored the study. It should also state who gathered the material and give information about these persons such as their titles and occupations, their training and experience.

2. The study should indicate the date (year and, if necessary, the month) when the material was gathered.

3. The study should bear evidence of the methods used in gathering the material:

   a. Library work performed.

   b. Number and location of the establishments visited, in order that the reader may judge whether an adequate sampling has been made.

   c. Number and kinds of schools visited.

   d. Number and kinds of organizations investigated.

   e. Number of other persons interviewed (in many cases only their positions and not their identity will be revealed).

4. The study should show evidence that the findings have been validated or checked and should indicate the means by which the validation or checking has been accomplished, such as referral in final draft to certain recognized authorities, or comparison with research studies bearing in part or in whole upon the study in process.

5. It is desirable also that the study indicate that it has been "tried out" on certain consumers of the type for whom it is intended.

6. The list of topics should be complete in order that a balanced picture of the occupation may be had; or an explanation given as to why certain facts have been omitted.

7. *a.* If tabulated and graphic materials are embodied in the text, they should be accompanied by a well-integrated discussion, explaining and interpreting the facts revealed in the tables and graphs.

b. Tabulated material whether in the body of the text or in the appendix should be set up in proper form as to titles and headings, and should indicate from what source it has been derived.

8. Census data when used should be the latest available, should be well digested and accurately interpreted.

9. The text or footnote should indicate the source of quoted or paraphrased material whether taken from printed matter, conferences, or interviews.

10. Transitions between parts of the text should be such that interrelations are clearly seen and a complete picture of the occupation obtained.

11. Statements (including the title) should be specific and exact, not general and inaccurate. Qualifying words should be used to clarify meanings, not to embellish them and not to produce favorable or unfavorable attitudes. The scientific approach should be manifest throughout: in the methods used in gathering the facts; in the unbiased, accurate presentation of what was discovered, whether favorable or unfavorable; in the obvious intent to serve, not special and limited interests, but the well-being of young people.

12. The occupation should be presented in its social and economic setting, both national and local, and not as an isolated phenomenon in a vacuum.

13. The style should be clear, concise, and interesting, but not overly chatty. The vocabulary and manner of presentation should be adapted to the readers to whom the material is to be addressed.

14. The format should be pleasing and attractive: the typography, such as to invite reading.

15. A table of contents, which carries subheadings as well as headings of chapters; an index if the study is long enough; and an annotated bibliography in accepted form should be included.

16. Where material is republished there should be evidence that the contents have been revised or that they have been merely reprinted. It is desirable that material be kept up to date and provision made for revision when the original publication is issued. To this purpose mimeographed material in soft binding lends itself more easily than the printed page in hard binding.

If we selected only materials which met all these specifications we should be restricted to a very short list of titles. We can, however, give the preference to publications meeting as many of them as possible. In general, standards listed first are more essential than the later ones. A list of publishers of occupational materials is given in (10) and (140).

In addition to basic knowledge of the world of occupations and good judgment in the choice of materials, a counselor also needs skill in the incorporation of such information into the total counseling process. Just when should facts about jobs be brought in, and how? With individuals as different as they are and possible vocational plans as numerous as they are we should not expect to be able to set up any standard procedure, but there are certain guiding principles.

The first of these has to do with economy of the client's time. There should be no necessity for him to acquire detailed information about occupations that are completely out of the question for him. This means that usually the facts about jobs are brought in at a later stage than the tests that are designed to get at individual strengths and weaknesses. There are naturally many exceptions to this order. As we have seen, Volume I of the Dictionary is often useful in the very first interview for clarifying the meaning of some job label which the client understands only vaguely. As in the case of other specific requests, a client who comes in asking for occupational information should probably be given it without too much delay unless the thorough-going first interview we have already discussed indicates that the request did not represent what he was really seeking from counseling. The danger in injecting facts about one occupation into a case too soon is that they may build up so strong a mental set in favor of one kind of career plan that the person will be unable to accept later evidence that suggests his own unfitness for it or to consider alternative plans more in line with his abilities. Aside from the possibility of this un-

fortunate effect it wastes the time of counselor and client to spend any part of the initial interview, potentially so valuable for bringing out subtle attitudes, in discussing facts that may or may not have some bearing on the problems.

The question of how best to get pertinent information to those who need it is complicated by the fact that economy of clients' time is not always the same thing as economy in administrative costs. In many high schools and some colleges occupational information is brought to students on a group rather than an individual basis. Courses in occupations or units of this type in group guidance programs are very common. Counselors, of course, must carry on their work within whatever framework has been established, and the integration of counseling with group guidance activities may be a matter of major concern. There are obviously some sorts of information that can be given to groups as easily as to individuals. The main ideas with regard to occupational classifications and trends might well be understood by everyone. Occupations courses to acquaint boys and girls with these important facts about our society can be an important part of general education. Much less, however, can be said for the common practice of requiring each person to make a thorough study of the one occupation in which he thinks he is especially interested. It is at this point that the class takes over a function it cannot discharge satisfactorily. In selecting an occupation for special research the student is too likely to do casually and lightly something which should be done only after intensive thinking based on a thorough knowledge of his own psychological assets and liabilities. If good career plans could be made as simply as this the whole vocational counseling movement would be superfluous. By the act of deciding on something and acquiring more knowledge of it than he has of anything else, a person may set his thinking in a rigid mold that does not really fit him. Thus the assignment may turn out to have been not just useless but positively harmful. Classes in occu-

pations should not attempt to carry the whole burden of vocational choice. Facts needed by individuals about their own particular vocational plans should be brought into some sort of relationship with individual counseling.

The second principle governing the use of occupational information in counseling is that it should be brought in in such a way as not to break down or confuse the essential structure of the counseling relationship. If the counselor explains the facts in an authoritative way the client may lose the sense that this is a situation in which he is to make his own decision and see it instead as one in which he is called upon to accept or reject a decision made for him by someone else. Young people are quick to perceive the opinions and biases of those who are in any sort of authority over them. The meaning a boy gets from the clearest objective explanation of the relative advantages of law, teaching, and sales work may be, "He thinks I should be a salesman." Once this has happened the whole climate of the interview is less favorable for a good decision than it was before, whether he decides to agree or to disagree with the recommendations.

The simplest way to avoid this restructuring of the counseling situation is to arrange things so that the client gets his facts from the printed materials themselves rather than from the counselor. This is not difficult to do if the materials are filed according to a clear-cut, easily-understood system like the Dictionary classification recommended earlier in this chapter. In high schools the files can be kept in the school library. After several occupational possibilities have been discussed the student can turn to the file and go ahead with his own research on them.

Like many other useful counseling procedures, however, this idea of letting the student read the facts himself has its limitations. Unfortunately the printed materials are pitched at too high a level of reading difficulty for many clients. Usually the counselor will be aware by the time the information is needed of about

how much reading skill the individual possesses. If there is any possibility that it is inadequate it is better not to do things this way. The alternative is for the counselor to answer the client's questions and tell him what he wishes to know. It is necessary to take particular care not to mix advice with the information but to make it as objective and matter-of-fact as possible. Centering this part of the interview around the client's questions will help to keep the responsibility securely in his hands. The counselor may say, for example, pointing to the collection of printed materials he has brought into the office for the occasion, "You see we have all sorts of information about the jobs you are interested in. What would you like to know first?"

A third principle in the use of occupational information is similar to one already discussed in connection with tests. There should be plenty of opportunity for the expression of feelings and attitudes. The girl who has been seriously considering social work needs a chance to express the disappointment she feels when she discovers what very low salaries many social workers receive. Otherwise she may not be able to give this factor its proper weight in her decision. The would-be psychiatrist may suffer a rude shock when he finds out that a complete medical course is required before specialization in psychiatry can begin. The expression and clarification of this feeling is an important part of counseling for him. The boy who wishes to be a forest ranger but who craves professional security may be thrown into a quandary when he discovers how limited in size the occupation of forestry is and how few new openings there are each year. This conflict must be faced, not ignored or glossed over.

Thus if the first procedure is followed—that of letting the client browse through the files for the information he wants—it is advisable to schedule another interview to be held after he has done this. Uncertainties and conflicts can be aired, doubtful points

cleared up, and a tentative final decision made. If the second procedure is followed—that in which the counselor tells the client what he wants to know—expressions of feeling can be recognized and reflected as soon as they occur, even if such apparent detours increase considerably the total time needed for counseling. It is especially important here that the counselor maintain his understanding but non-judgmental attitude. He must not take it upon himself either to justify existing occupational requirements or to sympathize with the client's protests. He may himself be of the opinion that a medical course for psychiatrists is superfluous or that social workers' salaries are far too low, but for him to bring in his own views at this point is to deflect the interview from its purpose. This is not to share views on controversial issues but to facilitate the client's decision based on acceptance of the situation he must meet.

We have been considering the use of occupational materials for what might be called exploratory and informational purposes. Baer and Roeber (10) distinguish and explain in some detail six other special uses. Their complete list is as follows (10, pp. 425–426):

Exploratary Uses: Occupational information used to help the counselee to make an extensive study of the world's work on selected fields of occupations. . . .

Informational Uses: Occupational information used to aid the counselee to make an intensive study of a few occupations. . . .

Assurance Uses: Occupational information used by the counselee to assure himself that he has made an appropriate choice of vocation or that he has abandoned an inappropriate vocational choice.

Adjustive Uses: Occupational information used to assist the counselee to gain the insight necessary to change attitudes and ultimately to change his plans from an inappropriate to an appropriate vocational choice.

Motivational Uses: Occupational information used to arouse the counselee's interest in schoolwork or in vocational planning.

Holding Uses: Occupational information used as a means of holding the counselee until he gains some insight into his real needs and into his behavior.

Evaluative Uses: Occupational information used to check the adequacy and the accuracy of the counselee's knowledge and understanding of an occupation or family of occupations.

Startle Uses: Occupational information used to see if a counselee shows signs of certainty or uncertainty after he chooses a particular vocation.

We have not touched on some miscellaneous practices with regard to occupational information, practices which should perhaps be mentioned because of the frequency with which they occur. In some schools it is customary for students to interview successful people in occupations they are considering and thus to get information direct from primary sources as it were. Another idea is to have career assemblies at which men and women in the community present briefly the facts about the work they are doing. In spite of their popularity both of these practices are of doubtful value. Information obtained from one representative of an occupation cannot compare in dependability with the information a good research organization gets from a large number of such workers. The number of fields sampled in a career program is also of necessity inadequate. The result may be that students tend to consider only those six or eight areas when they come to make their own decisions. If it is difficult for a counselor, trained as he is to recognize the problem, to deliver objective information free from opinions, biases, and approving or disapproving attitudes, it is not likely that the layman to whom a student is listening will be able to give him such facts. For example, a young college girl with marked aptitude for science went to talk to a woman chemistry instructor about her work. This woman was a frustrated, embittered individual with a grudge against the world because it had both cut her off from the normal feminine satisfactions and prevented her from rising to the top in her profession. The student came away from the interview confused and unhappy with the general impression that science is no field for a woman regardless of her abilities. It is not likely that all woman

chemists would have put the case this way, although of course there are special problems faced by a woman in a characteristically masculine occupation. It is when we rest the whole responsibility for informing students about occupations on these methods that they may do more harm than good. If they are only a part of a more inclusive program they may serve a useful purpose since they do add human interest to what otherwise may be dull facts. The important features of a vocational guidance program are the individual counseling and the availability of complete, dependable information. Interest-producing devices are embroidery on this fabric, not the fabric itself.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

While there has been a vast amount of occupational material published, there has actually been very little research evaluating its effectiveness in counseling or showing how it can best be used. Stone (151) compared 118 students who took vocational orientation courses with 140 who did not, using a variety of before-and-after measures and ratings to show effects on choices and attitudes. The experimental group had more occupational information than the controls and had apparently applied what they had learned in "down-grading" themselves somewhat, since the levels at which their choices were pitched were somewhat more realistic. When the appropriateness of the choices they had made was rated, however, it appeared that only the students who had had counseling in addition to the course showed a significant improvement. Those who had had both the course and counseling were also superior in this respect to those who had had counseling alone. Speer and Jasker (149) have also reported that the suitability of occupational choices is improved by either work experience or guided reading discussed with a counselor, and that the best choices result when both are combined.

Two studies have evaluated published material on criteria closely related to the purposes for which counselors wish to use it. Brayfield

and Reed (24) used the Flesch formulas to analyze the difficulty level and interest value of 78 pieces of occupational literature selected from the offerings of various publishers. Almost two-thirds of them ranked in the "very difficult" or "scientific" levels, and 32 per cent in the "difficult" classification. About the same proportions fell into the "dull" and "mildly interesting" categories on the other variable. Fewer than 5 per cent were at the readability level of our popular magazines. Obviously this is not as it should be. Brayfield and Mickelson (23) surveyed almost 6,000 references listed in two different indices of occupational materials to discover how adequately the titles covered the various levels of work in our society. They found that the occupational literature is too much concentrated in the white collar and professional fields. About 44 per cent of the Occupational Index titles, for example, and about 31 per cent of the titles from the Forrester list represent professional occupations, whereas only 30 per cent of the former and 37 per cent of the latter titles represent the skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled areas in which the majority of workers must find employment. The authors point out that this unbalanced distribution handicaps the counselor in several ways and helps to perpetuate the tendency of young people to choose occupations above the level at which they will be able to qualify.

Evaluation. Obviously more research on the part occupational information plays in vocational decisions is needed. The evidence that information alone is not effective, and the analyses of reading difficulty and levels covered are valuable contributions to a field where knowledge is scarce.

VIII

Psychotherapy

To judge by the frequency with which it crops up in journals, at official meetings, and in incidental conversations, no topic is of more vital interest to present-day American psychologists than psychotherapy. Among counselors it has taken the central place once occupied by vocational guidance. The fascination about this activity lies at least partly in the fact that it brings us into contact with some of the most basic issues in psychology as a science and in human life in general. The theoretical questions that it raises, unanswered as they are, are matters that cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the personal satisfaction that comes from promoting happiness and stability in others is very real. For these reasons a great many psychologists, those who are practicing psychotherapy and those who are not, are concerned with its methods and results.

We forget sometimes how very recent this whole development is. It has come following the publication of two books, Roethlisberger and Dickson's *Management and the Worker* in 1937 and Rogers' *Counseling and Psychotherapy* in 1941. It is a striking fact that at approximately the same time two workers starting from quite different backgrounds and engaged in quite different tasks should have developed so nearly the same technique and become convinced of its value in improving an individual's self

attitudes and adjustment to his fellows. Psychotherapy of various kinds, notably psychoanalysis, had of course been in existence for some time. Psychoanalytic ideas had wielded tremendous influence, and many of its methods had been applied to situations outside the psychiatrist's office. Counselors had given some attention to the personal problems of their clients, and unofficial psychotherapy by doctors other than psychiatrists and by ministers was fairly common. What the two books mentioned contributed was a clearly-formulated technique that could be learned and applied by workers dealing with individuals who, though not neurotic or psychotic, were being made unhappy and ineffective by their inner conflicts. The possibility of personal counseling for all who can benefit from it has opened up vast new perspectives. It is still too early to say where they lead.

The influence of the non-directive movement on counseling has been twofold. In the first place it has shifted the center of attention from vocational and educational decisions to personal problems. In some cases the new attitude was carried to extremes. Counselors lost interest in vocational guidance entirely and came to feel that every vocational problem was actually an expression of personality conflict. In general, however, the new ideas have had a healthy influence in broadening the scope of the service counselors equip themselves to give. In the second place, non-directive ideas have produced a pervasive change in the counseling process as a whole growing out of a greater emphasis on attitudes and feelings in *all* kinds of interviews from the simplest to the most involved. This second sort of influence has been implicit in all the procedures recommended in previous chapters. The first, the specialized techniques for handling personal problems, are our concern here.

Through exactly what channels service of this kind is to be brought to those who need it is a matter about which there is as yet no general agreement. In some places there are separate coun-

seling agencies for personal counseling on the one hand and vocational and educational guidance on the other. In other programs, notably the very extensive Veterans Administration service, both services are under the same roof but are dispensed by different people. There are some disadvantages in such specialization, although it may be necessary under present conditions. If basic training in therapeutic skills can be made available to all counselors help can be brought to clients in situations where specialized personnel will never be available—students in smaller high schools and colleges and people in remote communities. Furthermore, we can then avoid awkward shifts if an individual's problems turn out to be different from what they seem when first stated. There is obviously no ready-made dichotomy in people's problems. Sorting them out into those requiring therapy and those not requiring it is an artificial sort of business. It would seem more desirable to have counselors equipped to meet most of the needs which arise as counseling proceeds.

Concentrating on the non-directive methods first is advisable if for no other reason than the fact that the large amount of printed material now available makes the learning of them feasible. Many experienced workers would question whether these techniques are adequate in all situations. There is much discussion on this point and it may be a long time before the last word is said. But we can probably all agree that it is advisable for counselors-in-training to develop skill in the use of these methods. The question of whether they should be supplemented or replaced by other treatments more appropriate for some kinds of cases can safely be left unanswered while evidence accumulates. There can be no certain answer until we know more about why counseling failures occur. We know that they do occur when the non-directive approach is used; what we do not know is whether some other approach would have led to better results in these instances. We have as yet no valid basis for choosing specialized counseling

techniques to be applied to individuals in various special categories. To find out more about this constitutes a research problem of immense importance. Pending its solution, however, the trainee will do well to become as proficient as possible in the use of the one technique that has been thoroughly elaborated before he attempts improvisation in situations where it does not seem to apply. (Note that we are talking here about specific techniques rather than *attitudes*. We assume that the acceptance of and respect for the individual that is essential for the successful practice of these skills will underlie whatever the good counselor does.)

The first step the counselor takes is to decide whether or not to enter into a counseling relationship with the prospective client. Since we have analyzed in some detail in Chapter 4 the considerations involved in this decision, we shall here simply summarize them briefly. In the circumstances under which most general counselors work it is inadvisable to attempt to treat psychotics or persons with well-established neurotic defense systems. If there appears to be a need for some service other than counseling—training in specific skills or information about jobs, for example—it is often advisable first to put the client in touch with people who can meet these needs being careful to leave the way open so that he can return for counseling later if he wishes. If an individual lacks self-knowledge and there is some doubt as to whether tests or interviews should be scheduled, his own choice made after the alternatives have been clearly formulated should be respected. The careful handling of this step at the close of the preliminary interview serves the dual purpose of insuring that a client gets what he needs most and freeing the counselor's time for cases which will require a great deal of it.

From the client's point of view the first interview and the decisions it represents are among the most significant parts of the whole counseling process. He knows that he has taken at least one step in the acceptance and realistic facing of his difficulties. It

is often startling for a counselor, for whom these interviews are all in the day's work, to find out how much soul-searching and inner struggle has led up to one of them. It is very important, whatever the decision about subsequent treatment is, that he sense this and take seriously the client's seriousness in coming to him. There must be no facile reassurance, no superficial "Things-are-not-so-bad-after-all" attitude.

The stages in the non-directive counseling process have been clearly set forth by Rogers and others. The first is the person's coming for counseling and, as we have said above, it is most significant although the counselor ordinarily will have had nothing to do with it. The next is a release of feeling, mostly negative at first—hatreds, worries, fears, self-disparagement. The counselor accepts these feelings as they are expressed, reflecting them back to the client as well as he can. Insight begins to occur with increasing frequency. Gradually positive feelings put in an appearance—hopes, self-respect, love for other people. The next stage is reached when the client begins to think of things he can *do* to express these attitudes and improve his own situation. Such plans may be tentative and hesitant at first, but as he tries them out between interviews they assume a more definite shape. The final stage is the decision that counseling interviews are no longer needed. This decision may be uncertain at the beginning, and the person may change his mind several times about it, but with a little time it becomes clear.

Anyone who has dealt with human individuals in any capacity would not expect that they would all follow this pattern in detail. There are persons for whom the release of negative feeling is in the beginning quite impossible. They dare not admit to themselves that they have strong hostilities. They may talk for a long time about trivialities or they may find it very difficult to say anything at all. They may begin by expressing what appear to be positive attitudes about their own abilities and prospects, attitudes

which seem quite incompatible with the anxieties which brought them to counseling. Even in cases where things start out according to plan relapses are common all along the way. Just when we think that a certain client has reached the stage where constructive plans will clear up his difficulties he may suffer a recurrence of the chaotic state of mind which characterized him at the beginning. There are all sorts of variations on the basic theme, but underneath them we can sense that there *is* a theme, an orderly dependable process that brings about changes in an individual's attitudes toward himself and others. The counselor's task is to foster this process rather than to conform to any set time schedule.

During the beginning stage when release of feeling is to be encouraged, the most important aspects of the counselor's behavior are warmth and responsiveness. In the minds of many persons with a little knowledge of it, including unfortunately some clients who have been exposed to it, non-directive counseling is confused with passivity. Such confusion can easily occur if a counselor-in-training concentrates too much on its negative aspects. Before each interview he says to himself, "I must be sure *not* to talk too much. I must be careful *not* to give advice, *not* to make interpretations, *not* to pass judgment, *not* to let my own opinion escape me." The result of this inhibitory attitude is that an atmosphere is created in which *nothing* happens, an atmosphere in which the client experiences only annoyance and frustration.

Instead of this, the best kind of preparation for an interview is to think, "My job is to understand how this person feels, what counseling means to him, what he expects. I must see things as he sees them. And above all I must make him sure that he is welcome, that I am glad he came in. He must like me and be certain that I like him."

Warm friendliness is particularly necessary in early interviews since it may be necessary to melt through a wall of ice which

habitually distorts the client's vision of other people. His self-esteem may be so low that any failure to greet him kindly is interpreted as active dislike rather than indifference. A face without a smile may seem to him positively forbidding. He may be so bitterly ashamed of the personal conflicts that have impelled him to seek counseling that he unconsciously assumes that the counselor will despise him for them as he despises himself. If there is the slightest evidence of inattention or preoccupation he thinks that the counselor may be saying to himself, "Why is he bothering me with this? A weakling who would let himself get into this kind of mess is not worth saving. I wish he would leave and let me get on with my important business."

Farfetched as such interpretations may sound, clients actually do make them. We can prevent them only through warmth of manner and deep, genuine interest. This goes far beyond handshaking and pleasant small talk. The quality must be manifest in everything that is said and done, and it must be sincere. It takes in such diverse matters as organizing one's schedule so that clients are not kept waiting and interruptions do not occur, and keeping one's private life stable and orderly enough so that one's own problems do not intrude themselves into a client's time. There is no way in which a counselor can be told exactly what he should *do* in order to create the right atmosphere. In one instance he may meet the client in the waiting room and walk down the hall to his office with him. In another he may start with a sympathetic question, "You're upset about something?" after he has welcomed the client at his door. Usually he will look at the person while he is talking, but in some instances where this appears to make the client uncomfortable he will let his eyes drift away elsewhere. Sometimes he will remain perfectly silent. Sometimes he will have more to say. If the counselor really feels both goodwill and interest and realizes that he must communicate these feelings he can usually hit upon some way of doing so.

As has been explained in Chapter II, it is because of the importance of this particular atmosphere in the initiation of the counseling process that the practice of structuring the situation for the client, which was recommended when the non-directive procedure was first elaborated, has been largely discontinued. This step consisted of an explanation by the counselor of what was to be expected during the counseling sessions. It has been found, however, that to tell a person that no advice or direction is to be given and that he must work out solutions for himself may have a discouraging effect—so discouraging that he may give up the undertaking before really having a chance to try it. It often seems to an individual that he has been over and over his problems in his own mind so many times that it is no use to try again. If counseling is to do no more than to leave one to work over this same unpromising ground, it is not worth the effort. He may also be left with the impression that the counselor *could* solve his problems and give him the answers if he wished, but that he is deliberately refraining from doing this. Naturally he resents what looks like the withholding from him of the very thing he wants most. It is thus better that the situation be structured gradually, by what happens rather than by words. Once he has some direct experience of the process he will understand without resenting it. The important thing that must be put across in the first interview is that help *is* available. The exact form that help is to take need not be made explicit.

Sometimes a client will ask a direct question about how to begin. The whole situation is new and confusing, and he has no pattern to which to fit his behavior. In such a case the counselor may reply in some such terms as these: "It doesn't make much difference where we begin. Just tell me about anything that seems important to you—your past life, the people who are near to you now or have been at some other time, or the problems you've been thinking most about." While it is important if the non-directive

procedure is to be followed that the counselor does not let himself be maneuvered into a question and answer situation, it is quite feasible to get things started this way. By giving several alternatives he insures that what the counselee begins with is his own choice. By answering rather than turning down an appeal for help he avoids giving him the feeling that he is groping around in the dark alone.

In Chapter II we have discussed in some detail the technique usually called "reflection of feeling." It could perhaps better be named "communication of understanding." What is important is that the counselor convey to the client at least an intense effort to enter into the experience he is trying to express, at best a complete comprehension of it. Let us look at another example [1] as a basis for discussion.

MR. S.: It often seems to me that I just can't go on. I get up at five o'clock every morning and work a six-hour shift at the power plant. Then I go to my classes in the afternoon. Sometimes I'm so sleepy that it's just torture to keep awake during a lecture. In order to get my studying done I have to stay up till after midnight. I never get enough sleep. I'm getting more and more tired. I just can't stand this much longer —but I've *got* to stand it.

COUNSELOR: You're driving yourself to the very limit of your endurance.

MR. S.: Yes, but the worst of it is that it affects other people besides myself. I'm giving my wife a bad time. I'm tense and jumpy and irritable at home. My little boy Jimmy gets on my nerves so that before I can stop I'm shouting at him and knocking him around. I know what it's doing to him. I was treated badly enough when I was a child so that I know what a terrible thing this is. But I can't stop.

COUNSELOR: It's disturbing to see yourself as a person who ill-treats his own child.

MR. S.: That's not the only disturbing thing either. Two weeks ago

[1] This is not an actual case, but rather a synthesis of several from the author's experience. A considerable number of actual interviews are now available in printed form. It is expected that the student will study this material in connection with the present chapter. See the reading list in Appendix C.

I rammed my car into the back of a truck. The truck stopped just ahead of me and I didn't notice it at all. It's going to cost me two hundred dollars for repairs. Why was my mind wandering that way? Why didn't I know what I was doing? If I'm going to have lapses like that, anything can happen! It scares me to think of it.

COUNSELOR: You wonder sometimes if you're beginning to crack up.

MR. S.: That's what I'm really afraid of. There is some insanity in my family. My grandmother spent ten years in an asylum before she died. I've been worried that I might be like her as long as I can remember. Now I often wonder if it has already happened—that I'm out of my mind but that people haven't realized it yet. Oh I know it sounds silly, but I can't help thinking it.

COUNSELOR: You wonder sometimes if you've really lost control.

We have pointed out in Chapter II two of the things upon which a counselor concentrates as he attempts to reflect feelings—listening for emotional attitudes rather than content, and selecting the most significant part of a complex sequence. Both of these run counter to some of our most firmly established conversational habits. For example, after the client's first speech in the foregoing example it would be natural to say, "There just aren't enough hours in the day for all you are trying to do," or "You are really working hard for your education." Neither of these replies shows that the counselor understands the intense strain, the feeling of imminent catastrophe that pervades what has just been said. Counseling is concerned with that strain rather than with the facts. We have also learned through years of practice in conversational good manners to react to the less disturbing parts of what a person has said. After the client's second outburst in the example given the counselor might have replied, "You hate being so irritable at home." Had he done so he would not have faced the most unsettling fact at all. It is the possibility of psychological damage to the child around which the strong guilt centers. It is just such matters that need to be faced steadily without flinching. We have

mentioned before that in expressing the almost intolerable feelings the counselor must be careful about the words he uses. It is better to say "ill-treats a child" than "is cruel to a child" for example. However, in the effort to use a word which will not deliver too much of a shock we must not minimize or gloss over the emotion. To say, "Your father's attitude annoys you sometimes," when the client has been expressing furious resentment fails to show real understanding. What we aim at is an expression which is right quantitatively as well as qualitatively. It goes without saying that it is not easy to achieve this. It is not even possible under all circumstances, since words do not mean the same thing to everybody.

Partly because of this fact that it is impossible always to reflect feelings accurately, regardless of one's skill and experience, it is better to think of the whole process as one of communicating to the client your understanding of his experience rather than acting as a mirror for it. A counselor cannot be a faithful mirror. He too is a human being and his own particular areas of acuteness and obtuseness will inevitably distort the picture. Furthermore, experience has shown that the progress of counseling is not seriously impeded by some failures to reflect feelings correctly. If there is a sound counseling relationship and if the counselor has been following the client's words with intelligent attention, showing from time to time that he understands, a response that is wrong will simply lead to further elucidation of what was really meant. Of course if there is too much of this failure to comprehend, the client may give up the attempt to explain how he feels, but a fair amount will be tolerated in the ongoing stream of self-expression.

This point is emphasized because of its implications for the student-in-training. To be too conscious of the importance of saying the right thing at every pause is a state of mind that hampers one's work. It cannot be stressed too much or too often that the basic skills are perceptual, not verbal. If the counselor's whole

attention is given to understanding what the other person is trying to tell him things will usually work out all right even if what he says is hesitant or inept. It is better to begin with good relationships and attitudes and then gradually perfect and polish the verbal skills than to work on the verbal skills first while ignoring the human realities. It is quite possible for a client to be acutely uncomfortable in a situation which would look in a typescript like a perfect example of non-directive procedure.

Fortunately this skill, the knack of listening for the meaning behind the words, does not have to be learned entirely in interview situations. Conversation, while it is different from counseling in several important ways, is like it in that both content and feelings are expressed. Thus it is quite possible, wherever people are talking together, to practice listening for the emotional attitudes underlying the words and trying to sense imaginatively another person's state of mind. The ability to do this is very much worth developing, not only for its crucial importance in counseling but because it has so much to contribute to the richness of life in general.

In communicating his understanding to a client, the counselor needs to be aware of the difference between "reflection of feeling" and "interpretation." To interpret is to go beyond what the person has actually said and make some comment on the sources of the feeling or its relationship to other things. In the example given, had the counselor said after Mr. S.'s second speech, "Because you were a rejected child yourself you show a tendency to reject your own child even when you don't wish to," he would have been interpreting rather than reflecting. Non-directive workers have come to feel that interpretation is likely to be unwise. At best it is of little value; at worst it generates defensiveness that may bring counseling to an abrupt end. It is plain that the response just cited shows the counselor thinking as psy-

chologist rather than as Mr. S. He is classifying the problem in accordance with certain theoretical concepts rather than understanding the experience of the man stating it. But this is a rather extreme example. There are many borderline instances where reflection and interpretation merge into one another so that it is impossible for experienced counselors to agree which a remark is. This is because of the fact that when we respond to feeling rather than content we tend to give to what the person has said a somewhat broader reference than he himself gave it, thus adding something to his meaning. Such extensions do not seem to retard counseling. The best course for the beginning psychotherapist to follow is to give first importance to the habit of adopting the client's frame of reference and seeing things as he sees them. Such an attitude will head off interpretations of the disruptive sort.

One supplementary problem that often arises is that of direct questions. Dogmatic followers of the non-directive method try always to reflect questions rather than answer them. This can lead to ridiculous results, highly exasperating to the questioner.

"How do I get to the Registrar's Office from here?"

"You'd like me to tell you where the Registrar's Office is."

"Yes, where is it? That's all I want to know."

"You're a little annoyed because I did not show you the way to the Registrar's Office," etc., etc.

It is obvious to common sense that it would have been better in this case, admittedly an extreme one, for the counselor to tell the student in the first place that the Registrar's Office was on the next floor. But again most real counseling situations are not so clear-cut. There is a danger that if the counselor starts answering questions as the client brings them up the structure of their relationship will solidify into a question and answer pattern quite different from the one we wish to create. A way of dealing with such situations which has been found quite satisfactory is for the

counselor to answer any question of fact if he knows the answer but to comment at the same time on the feeling that prompted the question if he can sense what it is. Thus:

CLIENT: What time is it?

COUNSELOR: It's a quarter to eleven exactly. You're wondering if the hour is almost over?

CLIENT: Yes. I feel as though I were running out of things to say . . . sort of running dry. Yet I don't like to leave early and waste time that's been assigned to me . . . I do so want to get something decided . . . and soon.

COUNSELOR: There's a kind of urgency about the whole thing for you.

By answering the factual question the counselor does the simple, natural, friendly thing that heads off resentment. But by adding the remark about the motivation he keeps the emphasis where it belongs—on the person's state of mind. When questions do not have to do with factual matters he can explain briefly that he does not know the answer and again go on to recognize the feeling that is involved.

Example:

CLIENT: What do you really think is the matter with me?

COUNSELOR: It would be nice in some ways if personality were simple enough so that one could answer a question like that, but it just isn't. It seems to you as though it would be a relief in some ways to have someone tell you straight out what is wrong?

CLIENT: That's really what I came for. Like when you go to a doctor he decides you have appendicitis. He takes out your appendix and then you feel all right. I guess I knew all the time that it wouldn't be like that but I still sort of hoped it would.

The guiding principle in these situations where direct questions are asked is to deal with each in an honest way but in a way that keeps the structure of the counseling situation intact.

We turn now to a discussion of the limits to be imposed upon counseling, their nature and their functions. Workers doing any sort of psychotherapy would agree that limits within which client

and therapist will operate must be set up. There is less general agreement as to just what they are. The research that would justify any definitive statement on the subject has not yet been done. Therefore, as in other areas we have covered, we shall identify some general principles in accordance with which each counselor can make up his own rules, rather than lay down rules themselves.

The first of these principles is concerned with time limits and is based on the obvious and simple fact that there is a limited number of hours in the counselor's day. It is usually impossible for him to allow one client to run over his allotted time without either depriving the next person of his rights or depriving himself of time he needs for other duties. These same practical considerations usually limit also the number of interviews to be scheduled with any one person in a single week. In giving them their rightful place in his thinking it is important that the counselor look ahead farther than the next hour or even the next week. At the beginning of a school term he might find it possible to see John Jones for three two-hour sessions a week, but if he gets the pattern set this way he may be in serious difficulties by the third or fourth week when ten other John Joneses are claiming his attention. The student serving his apprenticeship in a counseling agency may be so eager to get this experience that at the beginning he is quite willing to devote a large part of his time to the one client with whom he is working. Later he will find that things do not go so well as he gets into the thick of the year's work and needs time to study for examinations and gather data for a thesis. The counselor's aim should be to work out at the beginning a schedule that will not become cluttered and confused as time passes. To adhere to such a schedule unless there is some special reason to depart from it is the only reasonable procedure.

Ordinarily it is not too difficult to make time limits clear to a client in the early interviews when he may have a tendency to

disregard them. To glance at one's watch about five or ten minutes before the hour is up and mention that it is almost over is usually all that is necessary. If no timepiece is visible in the room it is sometimes a good idea to lay the watch on the desk so that the client himself can see how he stands. Bringing the subject up a few minutes before the time actually runs out enables the person to complete one line of thought instead of having it switched off in the middle and prevents any sudden feeling of rejection at the last minute.

But should no client ever be allowed to continue for a few minutes even if he is not intruding on someone else's time and even if he is expressing feelings of great significance? Most counselors would not like to answer this question with a dogmatic "No." If an extension is given, however, it is probably good policy to limit it by some such remark as, "Our time is up, but I can spare another fifteen minutes if you would like to stay that much longer."

To change the time limits in even this limited way, however, is to risk certain undesirable developments in the counseling relationship. An understanding of what they are constitutes the second principle which can be applied to problems of limits in general. It is, briefly, that clients should not get any sort of reinforcement for attitudes of over-dependence on other people or habits of manipulating them. In some persons such attitudes are at the very heart of the problems because of which they have sought counseling, although they may be quite unconscious of their presence. We do not condemn a person for having such attitudes. It is a part of the therapeutic process that they be accepted and understood. A boy with a father who tries to make up for neglect of his children by giving them things and a mother too weak to hold out against any persistent demand could scarcely have learned anything else about basic human relationships.

Naturally he goes around attempting to force his associates to give him things or to give in to him. It is the only kind of human tie he knows how to create, and if it does not bring him love and satisfaction, it is at least some sort of substitute for them. The most important thing such a person needs to learn is that friendship is more than favors and that one need not dominate people in order to be safe with them. We cannot tell him this in words; we can only set up situations in which he can find it out. For him the apparently trivial matter of exceeding his time limit by five or ten minutes may be a real deterrent to learning the new ways if it means that he has forced the counselor into the same mold as the other adults he has known.

This same principle of avoiding the perpetuation of unsatisfactory basic attitudes applies to various other less common situations. Thus it is usually inadvisable for a counselor to lend a client money although he may have a strong impulse to dispose of some of the person's problems in this simple way. Ordinarily he should not take action on the person's behalf—clear up a misunderstanding with an instructor, petition for an exception to academic regulations, or get him a job. For an over-dependent client such things also shape the counseling relationship into the familiar pattern in which he manages to get along, though not very successfully, by inducing people to take care of him. It is precisely that pattern which we are attempting to enable him to break away from.

Obviously not all clients who show a desire to overstay their time limits are persons who need to dominate or extort favors, and not all who ask for help to get out of a specific academic difficulty are over-dependent. But it is the essence of the procedure we have been setting forth that the counselor continuously directs all his efforts toward understanding the client's words and the feelings that underlie them rather than toward diagnosing the structure of his personality. For this reason, in early interviews

he is likely not to know how strong such tendencies are in a given individual, and the safest procedure is to work within limits that will hold them in check if they are there.

Still a third principle related to the function of limits in the counseling situation has been discussed very little but may well be at least as important as the other two. The counselor himself needs limits to safeguard the important attitudes upon which the success of his work is based. Self-sacrifice is a virtue whose stock is rapidly falling on the present-day psychological market. As we have come to understand better the deeper recesses of personality we have seen that a person cannot renounce his own wishes too completely without carrying along some resentment against those for whom the renunciation is made. It follows from this that if a counselor allows his free time as well as his working hours to be invaded, and if as a result he has to forego tasks and pleasures that mean a great deal to him, it may be impossible for him to maintain the active goodwill that is the essential atmosphere of the counseling room. The main reason why physical attacks are not allowed in play therapy is that it is very difficult to love a child who is beating you or kicking you in the shins. This factor, along with the others, is involved in the specific situations we have discussed and in many others besides. If, somewhat against his better judgment, a counselor allows a client three interviews a week when he can really only spare time for two he saddles himself with some doubts about the wisdom of the decision and some hostility against the person for being so insistent. If he allows an individual to exceed his time limit knowing that work planned for this hour must now be done in the evening, a similar unwelcome change in his own attitude may follow. If he permits calls outside of office hours and a call keeps him from going to a play or a concert he has looked forward to, the occurrence does not leave his feeling for the client unchanged. Psychotherapy that required men and women so dedicated to their high calling that

all of their own desires were completely merged in their work would have to be given up entirely. Such people do not exist. What the therapist can do is to show toward his own nature enough of the same acceptance he gives other human beings so that he does not hesitate to use limits to safeguard the soundness of his own feelings.

In applying this principle, however, we are forced to recognize that inevitably the counselor will feel differently about different clients. This means that limits will vary somewhat from one case to another. There are persons he would be genuinely willing to see every day in the week if it seemed advisable, even if it meant giving up other enjoyable activities in order to do it. (Usually this would not be advisable anyway, as we have said, for other reasons.) At the other extreme are clients to whom it would be hard to guarantee an accepting attitude for more than one hour a week. In treating an anxious, discouraged client it may actually *add* to the counselor's peace of mind if he gives the person permission to call him at any hour of the day or night. As we have said before, while all counseling relationships have common features, they are not alike. Because of this, some limits vary from case to case, depending on the nature of the particular relationship between two concrete human individuals. The more sensitive a counselor is to the patterns of these relationships, the better he will sense the limitations that go with the pattern. It is a matter of recognizing in each instance how much of himself he is completely willing to give.

Student counselors often protest against limiting an interview to the time scheduled for it saying, "But he had only just begun when the hour ended. He was beginning at last to talk about things that were really important."

In this connection we must always remember that counseling is a process of change in a person, not just a series of topics discussed in interviews. The mental activity going on when the hour

ended does not cease when the client leaves the office. It reverberates in his own brain. Its effects may be significant and permanent even if it does not take place under the counselor's eyes.

At the risk of appearing repetitious, we emphasize once more in connection with maintaining limits the importance of showing the continuous warmth and kindness which are counseling's most essential ingredients. The client must not see any limit as a rejection. Again there is no certain way of guaranteeing success here. An imaginative grasp of the other person's feelings is required. Ending an interview rather than letting it run on indefinitely may call for nothing more than going to the door with the person and saying, "I'll see you next Tuesday then," with a tone of voice and manner that shows plainly that you are glad he is coming back. But in the case of a girl who knocks on your door at eleven o'clock at night and explains tearfully that she has just left her husband, more than this is obviously required. In such a situation it may be a matter of allowing a little time for her to calm down, perhaps giving her some coffee, bringing up quietly the question, "Is there anywhere you can go for tonight?", and driving her to the place she decides upon.

Another cluster of questions in therapy centers around the length of time it should be continued. Ideally, in a case that follows the typical sequence, there is no problem. When the person has reached the last stage of the process, which involves making decisions and carrying them out, he realizes that his need for the interview hours has diminished. Sometimes a client will not be sure how well he is going to get along on his own and will make an extra appointment with the provision that he will cancel it if he feels it is not necessary. There are temporary regressions at this stage, but they are not disturbing if the counselor is prepared for them.

More difficult situations arise when the connection must be

broken artificially, as happens when a school year ends and a student client leaves the campus. If with the help and support of someone he trusts, he has released a chaotic welter of attitudes and emotions of which he was previously only dimly aware, he may feel overwhelmed when the help and support are withdrawn. To avoid such contingencies calls for the long look ahead which we have previously recommended. Ordinarily a new client should not be accepted for psychotherapy during the last two or three weeks of the school year unless there is some means of maintaining contact during the summer. Sometimes the gap can be bridged by a definite appointment made in June for the following September. In all cases where there is a strong likelihood that interviews must be terminated before the counseling process is complete it is well to keep this fact built into the structure of the whole situation. Occasional remarks made at the close of interviews such as, "There are just three more weeks in the term, aren't there?" may serve to accomplish this.

Logically we should include in this section some recommendations for the closing of unsuccessful cases. Actually there is little that can be said on this point at present. We are handicapped by our ignorance with regard to reasons for the failure of psychotherapy with some individuals. Often the practical situation takes care of itself, requiring no decision by the counselor. A client simply breaks a scheduled appointment and never shows up again. In other instances, however, one can see in retrospect that a case that drags on over months without progress might better have been given up after the second or third interview. The "No Progress" judgment is very difficult to make with any certainty. It is to be hoped that research will some day illuminate this obscure area. Meanwhile counselors must make their decisions in individual cases without general principles to guide them.

We have reserved as the last topic of discussion the aspect of

counseling skill which is probably the most important of all but which is the most difficult to put into words. It is the ability to use the counseling relationship itself as the basis for therapy. What the client experiences is "learning by doing." What goes on is not just thinking and talking about life. It is in a very real sense life itself.

We have stressed the fact that the counselor's fundamental attitude is acceptance. From the client's point of view the feeling that must exist at the beginning or come into existence as time passes is *confidence*. He must be sure that he is dealing with a person who will never under any circumstances let him down or turn against him. As we have considered various other topics we have touched upon things the counselor does to create and maintain such confidence. He avoids accepting for therapy any person toward whom he does not genuinely feel friendly. He works within limits to insure that he will not be confronted with situations which would prompt him to reject the person or show irritation at his behavior. He refrains from talking to anyone about the things he has been told. He scrupulously keeps his appointments and safeguards the individual's time from interruptions. These things all help to make genuine confidence possible, although they are not essentially what produces it. They are not techniques, skills, or methods, in the narrow sense. Rather they are expressions of the fact that he *is* a person to be trusted.

Besides these vital ingredients, the acceptance on the one hand, the confidence on the other, every individual counseling relationship has in it a complex mixture of all sorts of things. The counselor needs to be able at all times to sense the pattern and the way it is changing as therapy progresses. He knows, for example, that Henry Harmon still distrusts him to some extent but that in spite of temporary ups and downs, confidence is growing. Mary Gleason is more dependent than most girls and is trying to use

the counseling relationship as something to lean on, but there have been some signs of more mature participation. Janice Bailey desperately needs a man to love her and is trying to cast the counselor in this role. Peter Johnson has not done very well in his graduate courses in psychology and shows signs of resentment against the counselor because he has succeeded where Peter is failing. All these things and many others a therapist may sense in the attitudes toward himself of the persons he is interviewing. They do not dismay him. He accepts them in the same spirit as he accepts all other expressions of the personality. He knows that through the gradual approximation process that occurs in the interviews each of these people will be able to reshape his concept of the relationship into something closer to what it actually is. And if he can come to perceive this one relationship clearly in all its individuality he will be better able to see the others in which he is involved with similar clarity.

The counselor communicates his understanding of what the counseling relationship means to the client in the same way as he handles the other less personal feelings. When a boy says, "My mother used to do her hair the way you do yours. You look something like her too," the counselor replies, "I remind you of your mother." When a client says in a joking manner, "I'll bet I'm the most neurotic student you have ever talked to," she replies, "You'd like to feel that you were special for me in some way." When a young man explains, "I think perhaps I should see a psychiatrist. I don't suppose psychologists know much about problems like mine," an appropriate reply might be, "You're doubtful whether you have come to the right place—whether I am the person who can help you." (The context and the tone of voice are of course important in all these instances. In some settings and with some expressions they would not mean what they are taken to mean here.) The most common mistake that inexperienced

workers make is to avoid the recognition of these personal feelings. Here again habits of polite conversation stand in our way. Counseling requires that we learn to face feelings toward ourselves as steadily and objectively as we face the others.

There is another aspect to the counselor's scrutiny of relationships. He must sense his *own* subtle attitudes in each situation. The woman who reminds Clarence so strongly of his mother may realize that she has in fact found him an exceptionally appealing boy and may have been showing tendencies either to protect him or to manage him. To recognize such a tendency is usually all that is needed to correct it. A man thinking back over an interview just completed may realize that there has been some irritation woven into his attitude toward Mr. Rolfe, the client, that day. "Why was that?" he asks himself. "Why was it there today and not before?" He goes back over the sequence of discussion topics and realizes that the irritation started when Mr. Rolfe began talking about his gambling debts and the anxiety they were creating. "It was his blaming his father for keeping him on too short an allowance and never even considering the possibility of going to work himself that rubbed me the wrong way," he says to himself. As he thinks it over he realizes that some old resentments he had thought dead still show a surprising vitality. His own college days had been a period of unceasing struggle. He had been completely self-supporting. Naturally he had at the time felt bitter toward the playboys who dashed around the country in bright-colored convertibles and seemed to have the best of everything. It now seems a long time ago and not very important, but here is this evidence that when he is caught off guard the old feeling can flare up again. In this case too recognizing the source of the trouble is really all that is necessary to take care of it. Since this has nothing to do with Mr. Rolfe as an individual it need not affect their relationship in any important way. The remedy is of course to adopt for the time being Mr. Rolfe's frame of reference

instead of his own. This he finds not too difficult to do. The experience as a whole has been valuable to him in that it has increased his awareness of his own vulnerability.[2]

A counselor can accept unwelcome attitudes in himself as he accepts them in others because he understands the complexity of the ties by which men and women are bound together. Knowing that his basic feeling for each client is liking and respect he knows also that a few threads of anger, impatience, resentment, jealousy, sexual attraction, or paternalism woven into the pattern will not distort it too much *if he recognizes them*. The whole counseling venture calls for as much honesty as human beings can command. To say to oneself, "I have the same attitude at all times toward all my clients and this attitude is one of high, unselfish helpfulness free from any admixture of less noble feelings," is to start down the path toward self-deception. Along this way there is no growth for others or for oneself.

It is plain that the skills we have been considering require *practice*. They can never be acquired by reading about them. The things that have been said in this chapter should be regarded as guideposts showing what to practice rather than as means of attaining competence. As has been suggested, the basic perceptual skills can be developed to some extent in ordinary conversation. Interviews of various sorts without special therapeutic aims can contribute to one's facility in expressing understanding. Role-playing situations help to enable students to develop their abilities. The would-be counselor will be on the alert for opportunities to practice what he wishes to be able to do well. It is only after considerable competence has been achieved that a person should

[2] It might be said that the example given illustrates the need for personal psychotherapy before one undertakes to counsel others. We will take up this question in the chapter on selection and training. It seems likely, however, that this kind of situation can arise regardless of how thorough one's personal preparation has been. Theodor Reik, in *Listening with the Third Ear*, Chap. VIII, discusses this problem from the psychoanalytic viewpoint.

take upon himself the responsibility that goes with psychotherapy. The best controls the trained counselor commands over the use of what may be profoundly disturbing procedures spring from his own ethical convictions.

RESEARCH SUMMARY

On psychotherapy there has been a considerable amount of research in recent years, much of it centered around non-directive methods and concepts. Before reviewing these studies, however, we shall take up a survey by Eysenck (50, pp. 25–32) that seems to show that "any belief in psychotherapy depends on faith, not on scientifically demonstrated results." He brought together the data from twenty-four reports making up a total of some 8,000 neurotic cases and classified the outcomes under four headings: (1) Cured, or much improved. (2) Improved. (3) Slightly improved. (4) Not improved, died, discontinued treatment, etc. The percentages in the "much improved" group run from 39 to 77 with an average of 64. His conclusion that psychotherapy has not been demonstrated to be effective rests on a comparison of this figure with the percentages reported in two of the papers for cases to whom no treatment or a bare minimum of treatment was given. This proportion of cures was actually *higher* than the general average, 72 per cent for patients given custodial care in state hospitals, 72 per cent recovery after two years for patients with disability claims who had been treated only by general practitioners. Reports from psychoanalysts show the lowest percentage of cures. Whether or not we accept Eysenck's conclusions, it is plain that if we are going to attempt to do psychotherapy we *need* to understand the process better in order to cut down the number of failures.

How does the percentage of cases with successful outcomes under non-directive counseling compare with that reported by Eysenck for other methods? Evidence is not conclusive on this point. Bartlett (16) reports a six-month follow-up of 498 veterans given personal counseling under the VA program. Of this group 38 per cent were rated by their training officers "much improved," 44 per cent "improved,"

and 18 per cent "not improved." Nothing is said in the report about a possible bias in the ratings which might have operated, since presumably at least some of the referrals of clients for personal counseling were made by the training officers who did the ratings, and they would hardly have recommended this treatment had they not *expected* improvement. Combs (34) in 1945 reported a one-year follow-up of a single case showing improvement in Bernreuter scores and in grades. Later Cowen and Combs (36) reported a follow-up study of 32 cases, on 27 of whom they had before-and-after Bernreuter scores for comparison, and 20 of whom were available for interviews. They classified 60 per cent in the "success" category, 30 per cent in the "progress" category. Haimowitz and Haimowitz (68) who followed up 10 cases one to one and one-half years after therapy was completed reported that only 6 out of the 10 showed significant improvement in Rorschach scores. If we equate the "success" and "improved" categories to Eysenck's "cured or much improved," the proportion reported is very similar to his average figure for all methods.

Muench (108) reported statistically significant changes in the direction of better adjustment for 12 cases on the Rorschach, Kent-Rosanoff, and Bell Adjustment Inventory. Since his study lacked a control group to show how much change in these variables is likely to occur without counseling, Hamlin and Albee (69) later reported, for comparison purposes, the results they had obtained on 16 subjects with the Rorschach and the Bell, before and after a class in abnormal psychology. For this non-therapy group marked improvement occurred on the Bell but only insignificant changes on the Rorschach.

This whole issue is still somewhat doubtful, however, as later studies of similar design have obtained much less striking results. Carr (32) has reported little or no difference in Rorschach records before and after treatment for 9 cases at the University of Chicago. Haimowitz and Haimowitz (68) found a significant reduction in Rorschach neurotic signs for their 56 counseled subjects, a reduction that did not occur in the non-counseled control group. It was a reduction of only one point, however, from three to two neurotic signs out of a total of ten, and the ten subjects re-tested after an interval of a year

or more showed a regression toward the pre-counseling level. *Ratings* of personality characteristics based on the Rorschach protocols gave somewhat more impressive evidence of changes occurring with counseling.

Hamlin, Berger, and Cummings (70) applied similar methods in evaluating a psychoanalytic type of brief therapy. The change in their total group of 20 veterans counseled for six months or more by the same psychiatrist was not significant at the 5 per cent level when the Muench signs were used in evaluating Rorschach records, but the Buhler Basic Rorschach Score did indicate a significant improvement. The meaning of this result is obscured, however, by the fact that the change was greater for the clients whom the therapist rated "unimproved" than it was for those rated "improved."

Watt (172) evaluated non-directive counseling in the treatment of delinquents, comparing 11 experimental subjects with 11 controls matched with them for age, intelligence, grade placement, and previous records. Statements made in the interviews indicated that 6 of the counseled subjects had attained the therapeutic objectives of free expression, insight, and decision and action. Significant differences between the groups showed up in gains on some of the MMPI scales, Hs, Pd, Pt, Sc, and Ma. No significant differences appeared in the other measures, the California Test of Personality, and the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman behavior ratings. Taken as a whole these studies would hardly warrant a conclusion that the superiority of non-directive over other methods had been clearly demonstrated, but they indicate that some favorable changes do occur.

Two studies present methods which might prove useful in further research rather than research results themselves. Lipkin (96) asked 37 clients to write free response answers to questions on their impressions of therapy. He gives excerpts and summary discussion but no quantitative analysis of any kind. Kauffman and Raimy (86) compared two methods of assessing therapeutic progress from typescripts of interviews, Dollard and Mowrer's Discomfort-Relief Quotient and Raimy's PNA-Q (based on positive, negative, and ambivalent self-references). There was a very high correlation between the two.

There have been some attempts to compare counseling successes with failures in order to identify reasons for lack of success. Snyder (147) compared one unsuccessful with four successful cases. The only counselor differences seemed to be a tendency to structure the situation, to ask direct questions, and to restate the client's remarks more often in the unsuccessful case. The main difference seemed to be that the unimproved *client:* (1) was not clear as to his problem; (2) was not able to verbalize problems clearly; (3) had already been treated without success by two psychiatrists; and (4) seemed unable to face problems and showed less of both positive and negative attitudes than the usual client. Snyder felt that the counselor's refusal to give advice and the client's desire to escape the draft might also have contributed to the failure to make progress. Raimy (117) analyzed 14 cases, 5 classified as unsuccessful, 7 as successful, and 2 as questionable, by rating self-references made in each sequence of interviews as positive, negative, or ambivalent. In the successful cases, the percentage of positive self-references goes up as one interview succeeds another, and the percentage of negative and ambivalent goes down. In unsuccessful cases, no consistent change occurs.

One of the most stimulating sections of the Haimowitz and Haimowitz report cited earlier (68) was an analysis of factors that seemed to differentiate between the 18 cases making the most gain and the 18 who did not improve. The improved group averaged significantly higher in neurotic signs at the beginning than did the unimproved group. The sex of the client and possibly the sex of the counselor were of some significance. Males seemed somewhat more likely to improve than females and those counseled by persons of their own sex had an advantage over the others. Least likely to improve were female clients with male counselors. Those who joined a group therapy class out of general interest showed as much change as those who sought counseling because of some expressed personal need. The one difference which the authors discuss in most detail is that intropunitiveness, as judged from Rorschach records, tended to characterize the successful group, extrapunitiveness the unsuccessful group. The fact that the therapy group as a whole had at the beginning somewhat better ad-

justment scores than the controls who did not seek help suggests that selective factors other than need are operating with regard to counseling subjects. The authors say, "We have been dealing with a small group of individuals who are highly intelligent, introversive, anxious, ambitious, and emotionally constricted. . . It may be that only this group, or individuals who resemble this group in their type of adjustment, will be affected by client-centered psychotherapy in the manner noted through the preceding pages."

There have been a number of other studies designed to check up on the "hunches" or hypotheses clinicians form as to the nature of the changes occurring during therapy. Snyder (148) classified some 10,000 ideas expressed in forty-eight interviews by four counselors and the six subjects they were treating. He was interested in trends shown from the first to the last tenth of the treatment process and in the relationships between certain kinds of counselor statement and certain kinds of client response. Though the results are reported in considerable detail, some findings can be summarized. There were significant changes in the frequencies of various categories of statement from one tenth to another. These were mostly in the directions one would expect, such things as counselor non-directive leads and client statements of problems being high in the beginning and decreasing later. So far as relationships are concerned, statements of problems tended to follow non-directive leads rather than structuring, direct questions, clarification of feeling, interpretation, persuasion, or criticism. Asking for information tended to follow attempts to structure the situation, questions, disapproval, or persuasion. Acceptance by the client tended to follow clarification of feeling. Understanding and insight tended to follow simple acceptance, approval, and encouragement. Clarification of feeling led to rapport and free expression of attitudes. It can be seen that this study lends support to the impression non-directive workers have that "clarification of feeling" is their most useful technique. Seeman (137) four years later reported a study similar to Snyder's comparing the frequency with which different categories are used in successive fifths of the counseling process. Remarks representing statements of problems decrease in frequency, insight

and understanding increase. Positive attitudes increase, negative decrease. A change in tense is also apparent. Positive attitudes increasingly are stated in the present tense, negative in the past tense.

This report by Seeman is one part of a "parallel studies" project begun at the University of Chicago in the autumn of 1947. Raskin (119) outlines the general plan of this coördinated research. Concepts which had developed on an empirical basis were selected for study. Quantitative measures that could be applied to recorded interviews were worked out for each of them. Ten cases were then chosen to be used in all these studies. The only selective factor was completeness. All had continued counseling to completion and had taken Rorschach and Guilford-Martin tests before and after the experience. They constitute a young group, nine of them being students. Six are female, four male. Six different counselors are represented. Hoffman (75) worked out an "index of behavioral maturity" from statements referring to past, present, and future behavior. Though this increased from the first to the last third of therapy it was not high enough to be statistically significant. There was a difference, however, between the most and least successful cases. In the successful cases there *was* a significant increase in the index. Haigh (67) compared the frequency of defensive behavior in the first and second halves of treatment and showed that it declined significantly. Sheerer (142) made ratings of each of the ten clients on a five-point scale evaluating acceptance of and respect for self and acceptance of and respect for others. There was a correlation of .51 between ratings of the two attitudes and during the succeeding stages of counseling the two rose together. In another Stock (150) set up ten content categories representing different kinds of references to the self and to others. Each unit of client expression was judged for direction and intensity in one of the content categories. There was a positive correlation between the affect ratings of statements about self and statements about others. Raskin (118) correlated the scores on the five different variables that the other workers had been using—self-attitudes, self-acceptance, insight, behavioral maturity, and defensiveness. All correlations were positive and in the expected directions. There were

parallel changes during the successive interviews, and there was a rank-difference correlation of .70 between degree of improvement as judged by these five measures and the counselor's judgment of improvement. In a study reported later Raskin (120) showed that what he calls "locus-of-evaluation" changed significantly in the ten "parallel studies" cases from initial to final interviews. Clients became more willing to rely on self-evaluations, less dependent on the judgments of others.

Thetford (159) studied changes occurring as a result of client-centered psychotherapy by making physiological measurements on 19 subjects before and after counseling. There were significant changes on several psychogalvanic measures, somewhat less significant changes on cardiovascular measures. Respiratory measures did not show any effect.

One other attempt to evaluate change in client-centered psychotherapy by evaluating defensiveness as shown in interview protocols has been published by Hogan (76). The method he proposes, however, appears from his tables to be so unreliable that it is doubtful whether it can be of much service.

Bergman (20) chose one sort of counselor behavior for special study, the response made to requests by the client for evaluation. He classified responses to such requests into several categories and looked for significant relationships between each type and the client reactions which followed. "Reflection of feeling" was the only type to be followed significantly more often than the others by "self-exploration" and "insight." A "request for clarification" tended to be followed by repetition of the client's question. Both "interpretation" and "structuring" were followed significantly more often than the others by "abandonment of self-exploration." This again puts the emphasis on "reflection of feeling" in the work of the counselor.

There have been some results, however, which suggest that it is an advantage for the counselor to show an understanding that goes a little beyond pure reflection. Dittman (43) based his analysis on typescripts of the first thirty of a series of recorded interviews of one patient by one therapist. Ratings were made of the therapist's "participation level" (degree of attention) and "depth" (continuum running

from "superficial" to "deeply interpretative"). Responses to be rated were categorized into response to feeling, response to interpersonal behavior (the client's way of reacting to the therapist), response to both, and response to neither. The results showed that progress tends to be associated with a high degree of participation or attention by the therapist. Client remarks showing progress could follow either a response to feeling or a response to interpersonal behavior provided that it was in a section of an interview in which responses to both had been occurring. It is evidently a good thing for a counselor to try to pick up both kinds of attitude. There appeared to be an advantage in responses slightly deeper than pure reflection so far as therapeutic progress was concerned. Keet (87) set out to test the relative value of interpretation and reflection by setting up an experimental counseling situation. For each of his 30 subjects a word having reference to some area of disturbance was located by means of a word association test. Later a learning situation was devised in which retroactive inhibition would produce a failure to recall this traumatic word, thus setting up an emotional problem and a need for therapy. About half of the 25 subjects who failed to recall the traumatic word were given "expressive" therapy, half "interpretive" therapy. Recall of the word on a subsequent test served as a criterion for the effectiveness of the therapy. His results showed significant differences in favor of the "interpretive" procedure. Some doubt has been created, however, by the inability of two different investigators, Merrill (105), to repeat the study because their subjects failed to show differential forgetting of traumatic key words. Final judgment as to the meaning of the results will have to await more evidence as to why the procedure worked with one group of subjects and not with others.

Some support is also developing for the point of view that the different schools of psychotherapy are not so far apart as they were once believed to be. The Dittman study cited above (43) fits in with this way of thinking since the concepts his results support were derived from Rogers, Fenichel, and Sullivan. Fiedler (52) using Stevenson's Q-sort technique has shown that experts representing Freudian, Rogerian, and Adlerian theories show a high degree of agreement on what the

ideal therapeutic relationship is. In another paper (51) he reports that when therapy interviews conducted by persons representing these three different approaches are judged for the characteristics entering into this concept of the ideal relationship, there are higher correlations among *experts* of the different schools than between expert and novice in the same school.

A few miscellaneous studies are impossible to classify under any of the main headings we have been considering. Hardy (71) reports that there was no correlation between non-directiveness and various measures of dominance for 25 graduate students in psychology. The fact that the expected negative correlations did not appear might tend to support the findings by other methods that responsiveness rather than passivity is the important thing in counseling. Miller (106) found that judges could separate counselor responses into four categories of acceptance, support, denial, and neutrality more reliably for non-directive than for directive interviews. She too found that non-directive interviews are characterized by acceptance rather than neutrality.

Rogers, Kell, and McNeil (128) have reported two studies in which follow-up adjustment ratings of delinquent adolescents treated at the Bureau of Juvenile Research, Columbus, Ohio, were correlated with clinical ratings made from case data at the time of treatment. The striking finding was that in both studies correlations of adjustment with "self-insight" were considerably higher than those with ratings of any of the hereditary and environmental influences such as physical, mentality, family, economic, and cultural. At the time this research was initiated this was not at all what was expected, but it now fits very well into theories growing out of non-directive counseling. It may also throw some light on the reasons for the generally unsatisfactory prognoses that have been reported following Chapter IV, if it is the individual's attitude toward himself rather than the favorableness or unfavorableness of his endowments and surroundings that counts most heavily.

Evaluation. What has and has not been shown by this fairly extensive body of research can be summarized under five headings:

1. It has not been shown that non-directive methods succeed in a larger *proportion* of the cases than other methods do. There is some evidence that Rogerian, Freudian, and Adlerian therapy situations are more similar, at least in the important matter of the counseling relationship established with the client, than they had been assumed to be.

2. The difference between successful and unsuccessful cases counseled non-directively seems to be more a matter of clients' personalities than of therapists' methods. The highly important question of whether all kinds of therapy fail with the same kinds of clients has not yet been touched.

3. Improvements occurring as a result of psychotherapy have been demonstrated using Rorschach scores and measurements of physiological variables. Analysis of interview protocols shows that these changes involve a decrease in defensiveness, an increase in insight, self-acceptance, and the acceptance of others, and a growth in willingness to take responsibility for one's own attitudes and actions.

4. The value of the basic non-directive technique, reflection of feeling, in stimulating self-exploration has been demonstrated. There are some indications that a response going a little further in the direction of interpretation may also be useful. At any rate, non-directiveness must not be confused with passivity. Intense interest and responsiveness on the part of the counselor are important.

5. A considerable amount of support has been given to phenomenological views of personality, emphasizing the importance of the individual's own beliefs about himself and the world rather than simply adjustment to external conditions.

IX

Decision-Making Interviews

Much of the counseling is oriented toward the making of decisions. Sometimes they are large and far-reaching, sometimes they are small and apparently trivial, but always they have some special significance for the person who makes them. For one thing, each decision helps to determine the unique pattern of the individual's personality. Each is to some extent irrevocable, since even if one goes back to the fork in the road and takes the other turning, he cannot eradicate the effects of the experience the first choice has given him. For another thing, there seems to be a *general* skill in the making of decisions, a skill which counseling can help one to learn. Once a person has made a plan for some segment of his life which he is content to abide by he is better able to make the next one intelligently and without too much hesitation and conflict.

We cannot really single out certain types of interview and say that they and they alone fall in this category since any interview may involve some decision-making, regardless of its main purpose. But perhaps we can gain a better understanding of what the process is and how it can be facilitated by thinking about what goes on in two kinds of situation. The first is the one in which a school counselor helps a boy or girl decide on a course of study. The second is the vocational planning interview that follows the

accumulation of information about a person and about the jobs and training courses that he is considering. Still a third variety is the hour at or near the end of a therapy series when the client has reached the stage at which he wishes to make choices and change some of the unsatisfactory features of his life, but this has already been discussed to some extent in the previous chapter.

Let us look first at what goes on in the short conference Jim Harris has with his adviser when he comes in to map out a freshman program.

JIM: Gee, I'm all mixed up. I certainly hope you can straighten me out.

ADVISER: Pretty confusing business, this registration. I expect you'll be glad when this week is over.

JIM: I sure will! (*He takes out his registration materials and spreads them out on the desk.*)

ADVISER: You know what the procedure is—what you are supposed to do with this blank and these cards?

JIM: Oh, yes. They told us that at the meeting last night. I'm supposed to put down the courses I'm going to take on this card. Then you sign it and I take it around to the departments the courses are in. It's deciding what to put down that bothers me. What do you think I should take?

ADVISER: Perhaps if you told me a little more about yourself—what your general plans are and what you want to get out of college—it would help us decide.

JIM: I've never really thought very much about it, I guess—just took things as they came in high school. I've done all right but haven't been too outstanding in anything. I suppose I've always assumed that I would go into business some day like my father. You probably know my father, Cuthbert and Harris, you know.

ADVISER: Of course. I don't think I've met your father, but I know the store. Is there some possibility then that you will go into your father's business with him?

JIM: Well, that's what he wants, of course, and I suppose that's what I'll do in the end. I probably ought to take a Business Administration course. The only trouble with that is that it says here in the catalog that you are required to take accounting before you can take anything else, and I don't know about that. The boys at the house say that's the hardest freshman course there is.

They've got me scared. I'd hate to get some low grades the first term and have to drop out of college.

ADVISER: You want to be sure you don't do the wrong thing. You know probably that the placement test you took yesterday is supposed to tell you how you compare with other entering students in ability to handle college work.

JIM: I've got that score here on this other card they gave me. It says "5." What does 5 mean?

ADVISER: That is just an average rating. It means that there are just about as many freshmen with lower scores than yours as there are with higher.

JIM: That's just about what I thought I'd get. But I was afraid maybe it might be lower. With that kind of score I ought to be able to do regular freshman courses all right if I study, oughtn't I?

ADVISER: Surely. You're beginning to get a little more confidence about the whole thing!

JIM: Yes, I think I'll try the accounting after all. I'll just plan to spend a lot of time on it, especially this first term. These boys at the house that had it last year will probably be able to help me if I get stuck. What else do you think I should take?

ADVISER: (*turning to the section of the catalog where general requirements are explained*) The University decides some of these things for you. There is the English, the physical education, and the ROTC that everybody has to take. You might put those down and see what it adds up to.
(*Jim writes them on the card.*)

JIM: It looks as though I could get in about two more things.

ADVISER: Did they explain these "group requirements" to you? In order to make sure that everybody who graduates has some broad liberal education the University requires that you take at least one course in each of these groups: the humanities, science, and social science. Here is the list of courses you have to choose from.

Jim: How would it be if I took a history course this year? I've always liked history. I think I'll take this European History. I'd like to know something about that. (*He counts up his credit hours.*) I think I can take one more course, but I'd rather let the other group requirements go until next year. Do you suppose I could take some music? I'd like to go on with my clarinet lessons.

ADVISER: It sounds like a good idea. Well, that just about settles your program, doesn't it? I'll sign the card and then you can work

out the times for all the classes from the time schedule yourself.

JIM: Thank you for all your help. I feel as if I were really getting started now.

ADVISER: You're more than welcome. You know where I am now, and I hope you'll come back any time you need my help. Good luck with the rest of your registration.

Let us look also at a section of an interview with Bernice Burchard, a college sophomore who is trying to decide on a career and a college major to correspond to it. This is the third conference she has had with Mr. Lundeen, the counselor. On the first occasion they had discussed her background and general attitudes; on the second they had talked about the results of tests she had taken, and he had directed her to the relevant information about careers. She is ready to think about a definite decision when she comes for this third appointment.

CLIENT: I've been thinking and thinking about the possibilities we talked over last time, but I just can't make up my mind.

COUNSELOR: No single one of them seems exactly right?

CLIENT: The thing I keep coming back to is that my grades and the tests I took show that I get along better in social science than in anything else, and the natural, obvious thing is that I should be a social science teacher. There isn't any real argument against it either. I've looked up what the books say about the opportunities and they seem to be good. The salaries are good now too—higher than for anything else I could get a job doing. But somehow I just can't see myself as a teacher.

COUNSELOR: There's something about the role you'd be playing that just doesn't seem to fit you?

CLIENT: I don't know. Maybe it does fit. Maybe I'm just not being realistic about myself. I've been trying to figure out what it is about the job that I balk at. I like children and young people and have always gotten along fine with them. I don't think I'll have any trouble with discipline or anything. I never did in Girl Scouts or summer camp. It's more that I hate to settle down in a small town the way you have to do, at least the first job you get.

COUNSELOR: There are things about small town life you don't like?

CLIENT: There certainly are! I grew up in one, you know. I know all about the narrowness and the smugness and the gossip. And as long as I can remember I've heard my mother complaining about it. She was a music teacher and wanted to go to New York to study voice. But she didn't have any money and decided to teach for a couple of years to save enough to get started in New York. Then of course she married my dad—he works in the First National Bank—and that was the end of all her plans. She's never even been to New York yet on a visit.

COUNSELOR: Your mother sort of got caught in a small town life she hadn't planned for herself.

CLIENT: That's just it. I think she's always felt cheated. Between you and me, I don't really think she has such a wonderful voice. She might not have gone very far with it if she had studied in New York. The family gets a little tired of hearing about what she has given up for us.

COUNSELOR: You're not completely in sympathy with your mother's attitude.

CLIENT: No, I'm not. And yet I seem to have been affected by it so that I'm afraid of being caught myself. I can see that I wouldn't need to be. You don't have to marry the cashier of the First National Bank unless you want to, and if you do want to—I probably would if he was like my dad—you shouldn't complain about the consequences. . . .

Thinking about these decision-making sessions and others in which we have participated we can identify certain common characteristics. The first thing the client needs to achieve is a sense of the general direction he wishes to go, the purposes that the decision he makes must serve for him. Until this general sense of what one wants exists, there is little likelihood that specific choices will be satisfying. After this or along with it the person must consider the limits of the situation within which his free choice operates. These may consist of university requirements, as in the first case above, or one's own talents and disabilities as in the second. A multitude of other factors operate in this way—age, financial condition, past record, physical appearance, family

commitments, draft status. Knowing what he wants and understanding the limitations that are placed upon him, the individual can narrow down the range of possibilities open to him, thus cutting down on the amount of confusion. Thinking in these terms he can usually identify more precisely than at the beginning just what is the factor that holds him back from each of these possible courses of action. In the first example above this turns out to be doubt about ability to handle accounting; in the second it is the influence of the mother's long-continued grievance against small-town life. Once this stage is reached a decision comes fairly easily.

Whether or not the client will have this satisfying decision-making experience depends largely upon the psychological structure of this interview and of the others which have preceded it. The important principles have already been discussed in previous chapters and need only be recapitulated here. There should be a general atmosphere completely free from any sort of threat to one's self-esteem, an atmosphere of genuine respect and liking. Attitudes should be given the same status as facts. They should be recognized, clarified, accepted, and understood. Dependable information should be readily available and freely used. It should be clear from the beginning that the decision is in the client's hands. The counselor will help him put things together but will not attempt to decide for him.

Along with these general skills previously elaborated there are certain counselor skills specific to the decision-making situation. The first and most important of these is perceptual sensitivity as to whether or not a real decision has actually occurred. Another way of putting this is to say that a counselor needs to be able to distinguish between a genuine decision and a pseudo-decision. This, like so many other special skills, requires the picking up of small cues through which the attitude behind the words can be sensed. Pseudo-decisions are fairly common in counseling, as

it is natural that they should be in a situation where there is some pressure to decide. A good deal of this pressure comes from outside sources over which the counselor has no control. The university requires that a student state what his major is. Family and friends suggest in subtle or obvious ways that not to be able to make up one's mind is a sign of weakness. No matter how permissive and accepting the counselor is, a client's initial set may be so strong that he assumes that a decision is expected of him before the conclusion of a series of vocational counseling interviews. Furthermore the counselor's own wish to close a case satisfactorily may incline him toward accepting a stated choice too readily and ignoring the hesitation or misgivings that attend it. It is only later when the person returns apparently as confused as he ever was that it is apparent that there has been this sort of error.

What can a counselor do about persistent indecision? In the first place he can accept it as naturally and non-critically as he accepts all of the client's other attitudes. There should be no disapproval, no annoyance. He should remember that it is these very clients who are having difficulty for one reason or another in charting courses for themselves who need counseling service most. By accepting the state of mind in this way he helps to give the client courage to tolerate his own uncertainty during the period of time needed to dispel it.

The second kind of contribution he can make is to help the client with the task of identifying the reasons for his inability to decide. In the examples given at the beginning of the chapter these turned out to be rather simple things—a fear of failing the accounting course, an unwillingness to settle for a non-romantic small-town existence. Usually such factors are not so easily pinned down, but there are certain areas in which they tend to cluster. More often than not the attitudes and expectations of other persons in the client's immediate circle are involved. A boy's mother has set her heart on her son's going into the ministry. Because

he is very fond of his mother he cannot bring himself to disappoint her although his religious faith has been weakened and his talents lie in other directions. A girl is interested in nursing but feels that the members of her sorority do not approve of it and will be angry if she leaves after two years of pre-nursing work to enter the hospital. There are innumerable specific forms these deterring influences emanating from family and friends can take.

Another cluster of specific reasons for inability to decide on an apparently suitable course of action centers around the fact that an occupation or a college major represents a role one plays, and something about that role can be distasteful even when the activities themselves are appealing. The student who is extremely conservative in his attitudes may not be able to accept a career choice that would involve working for the government. Anything that smacks of socialism or "bureaucracy" is anathema to him. The young man with an outstanding talent for drawing and painting may shy away from any kind of art career because it suggests effeminacy. The girl whose clerical aptitudes are low may still cling to the idea of taking secretarial training rather than going to work in a store or factory because she pictures herself as the trusted helper of a handsome business man. Prestige, glamor, financial security, clean hands—all these considerations and many others help to determine which occupations are acceptable and which unacceptable.

Another factor upon which indecision may be based is a genuine equipotentiality along with an unwillingness to narrow oneself down. Among high-ability students it is not uncommon to find individuals equally good at scientific and verbal kinds of work with interest scores also indicating suitability for both areas. But to achieve eminence as a lawyer or writer requires advanced training and experience that cannot be combined with specialized training in chemistry or physics. A person of this sort may have to make his choice in what seems almost an arbitrary way. Once

made, there is an irrevocability about it from which he may draw back in alarm. The sense of the inevitable limitations of human life which is one of the chief things distinguishing maturity from childhood may thus come to him all at once and he may need to talk about it at some length in order to assimilate it.

Another complex of factors sometimes standing in the way of decisions is related to what was said earlier about limitations imposed by circumstances. A person can recognize obstacles in his path and walls that close him in without accepting them. A twenty-three-year-old conscientious objector has planned for many years to be a medical missionary. His plans, like those of so many others, have been interrupted by the war. By the time he is free to take up his own life again he is married and has two small children. His wife is unable to work outside the home at least until they are of school age. The eight-year course which would have been difficult enough had he entered upon it when he was eighteen and unencumbered with family responsibilities is now financially impossible. Once he accepts this fact there are other decisions open to him, but until he does there is no way out. We in America have a great admiration for men and women who overcome insuperable obstacles. Every month our popular magazines recite their stories. Perhaps we need to temper this optimistic enthusiasm with the realization that some obstacles *are* insuperable. By maintaining a situation in which a client can look calmly and steadily at his circumstances for as long as he needs to the counselor helps him accept the limitations that he cannot change.

Once these influences and attitudes that are blocking decisions become clear to counselor and client there are some special ways of dealing with them which may be helpful. Where the attitudes of some other person are strongly involved, arrangements can sometimes be made to explain things to this person. As has been said in Chapter III, this should be done with the full knowledge

of the counselee himself. The mother who wishes her son to be a minister may not be so disappointed as he expected her to be when she learns of the boy's aptitudes and interests in the field of engineering. The father who has set his heart on a college education for his son, although he proves to be weak in the verbal abilities necessary for advanced education, may change his mind when he is shown that the son's most promising aptitudes are mechanical like his own. These examples point to what is probably the most important characteristic of these interviews with parents. They should stress the client's positive assets in some field other than the one the parent has chosen rather than attempt directly to argue him out of his insistence on an unwise choice.

In the cases where indecision rests upon conflicts in the client himself over roles he is not sure he wishes to play, the most important factor the counselor can utilize to help him is time. This is especially true when the counseling has upset the plans the person has held for some time and given him some new possibilities to consider. The trying on of new roles to see how well they fit cannot be hurried. When Sam Bronson, a boy from a large family that has always been on the edge of poverty, finds out that he has unusual scientific talents and could well plan to continue his education to the Ph. D. level, he will probably need to think the whole thing over for a while before he makes up his mind that this is what he wants to do. Mary Madison, who has set her heart on being an actress, may not be able to grasp all at once the information she is given about the difficulties she would face in getting into this profession, and she cannot be expected to change the picture she has of the Broadway star into one of an unremarkable stenographer instantaneously.

When indecision still exists at the close of an interview in which the client hoped to make definite plans, the natural procedure is to schedule another interview—more than one if neces-

sary. When the sources of his uncertainty are not yet apparent, it is talking the whole thing out in the favorable atmosphere of the counseling room that is most likely to bring them to light. When the uncertainty attaches to one aspect of the situation, some means of resolving the doubt between interviews can often be found. It is here that tryout courses and temporary jobs come in. If Mary Madison cannot quite see herself as a stenographer, a summer office job may clear the matter up one way or the other. She will know when she comes back to school in the fall whether such work suits her or not. If Richard McKenzie is not sure whether he has what it takes to become a successful architect, a year of basic art and science courses in the architecture school may settle the question. When they are planned during counseling, such tryout experiences can be worked out in ways that do not constitute a waste of the person's time whatever his final decision turns out to be.

To accomplish this it is necessary to keep in mind alternative possibilities and second choices. We have already indicated in Chapter VI that vocational counseling should be thought of as a way of surveying all the alternative choices rather than evaluating one. It often happens that a vocation or a course of study which has been barely mentioned in an interview following vocational testing will come to a client's mind immediately after a failure in some course has shown him that his first choice was impractical. Nels Andriessen wants so much to be a doctor that he decides to go ahead with a pre-medical course even after he finds out from counseling tests that his college ability is somewhat below average and his science background seriously deficient. This is in September. In January, with a D in chemistry and an F in physics on his record, the alternatives he had barely considered, sales work and physical education, look much more attractive. The tryout has been more effective than anything the counselor could possibly have said in September in confronting

Mr. Andriessen with the realities of his situation. An interview now will help him to evaluate himself more soundly and realistically than he was able to before.

There is one problem that constantly arises in cases showing indecision as a prominent feature. Such cases involve the basic minimum of diagnosis which is required in deciding what sort of treatment a person needs. The trouble is that *sometimes* indecision with regard to a plan of action represents a general indecisiveness growing out of personal problems rather than doubts related to this specific issue. In such instances tryout jobs or courses, occupational information, or additional planning interviews are of course futile. They may even be worse than futile since they serve to put off the day when the individual must face his real problems. Meanwhile the unsatisfactory habits of thinking become more firmly established. When a counselor is fairly sure that a client's difficulty in making up his mind is of this nature, it is advisable that he frankly recommend psychotherapy rather than specific ways of attacking the vocational problem. A recommendation of this kind should be put in such a way as not to alarm the client but to make the course of action seem perfectly natural. It might be phrased, for example, "It looks as though the choice of a career or a major isn't really the most important thing on your mind right now. Perhaps that would be easier if you could get some of your other personal problems and uncertainties cleared up. How would you like to make some appointments with Dr.—— to work on these directly?"

The distinction between indecision in a limited area and indecisiveness based on severe personal conflicts is not an easy one to make and probably can never be made with complete accuracy. There are too many in-between conditions to permit of clear-cut differentiation. It is still advisable, however, for a counselor to try to make it in order to avoid the application of superficial palliatives to serious disturbances. The basis on which it is made is an

evaluation of data in the whole case record, data which show how general the state of mind is and to what factors it appears to be related. By the time a planning interview has been scheduled there has been enough opportunity for self-expression so that the judgment the counselor must make is not so difficult as it would have been at the beginning. At this stage, too, if confidence has been built up, it is more likely than it would have been earlier that the client can accept the recommendation that he seek psychotherapy.

There are times when it is necessary that a decision be made immediately. This disabled veteran must sign up for one particular training plan in order to get his Public Law 16 benefits. This student must register for four courses this week. In such instances it is well to make sure that the difference between an arbitrary decision and a genuine one is clear to the client, so that the way will still be open for him to work toward a genuine one. The client rather than the counselor should make this arbitrary decision. In the first case mentioned above the counselor might say to the veteran, "We seem to have narrowed down the field to teaching and insurance, but I take it that you are not sure which appeals to you more. As you know, I have to get something down on this form for you so that you can start collecting your training benefits. After you get registered we can still talk the whole problem over until you have completely made up your mind, but what shall I put down here right now?"

We come finally to the question, what constitutes a *good* decision, a question which is not easy to answer even if we confine our thinking to the limited area of vocational and educational choices and omit from consideration decisions about marriage and intricate personal relationships. One criterion which has been used in follow-up studies to evaluate the success of counseling has been the acceptance by the client of a plan which the counselor thought carried a good prognosis. We have criticized this approach to the

problem in some detail in Chapter IV. The accumulating research evidence that clinical prognoses cannot be made accurately enough so as to guarantee success or happiness to one who lets himself be guided by them seems to be a serious stumbling block.

In other follow-up studies it has been assumed that an individual has made a good decision if things work out well for him in the future on the basis of it. If his grades improve, if he does well on his job, there is indeed some tangible evidence that the decision he made was satisfactory. This type of evaluation is of little help at the time counseling is going on, however. Furthermore, it would seem that it excludes from the "good decision" category many choices that should be included there. What of the boy who wishes so strongly to be a symphony orchestra conductor that he mobilizes all his considerable talent and energy toward that goal knowing that the chances are ten to one against his attaining it? Does his inability to get a job as an orchestral conductor prove that the original decision was unsound? What of the journalism student who signs up for courses in physics and astronomy because he wishes to broaden his outlook and understand how scientists think. If his grade average decreases from 3.6 to 2.9 because of this step, does it indicate that he was unwise to take it?

Perhaps the best way out of the dilemma is to consider that a good decision is one the consequences of which the individual who makes it is completely willing to take. In most cases he would hope that the course a client decides to take will be one in which he can make good grades and that the occupation he chooses will be one in which he will find success and satisfaction. But it is quite possible for a person to decide that it is necessary for him to take the risk involved in a field where no certainty exists. If he is willing to face failure if and when it confronts him and is ready to change to a less-preferred alternative if circumstances demand that he do so, who is to say that his decision is a bad one? Perhaps

we should never have had the prized works of our great composers, artists, and writers had there not been young men who were willing to take just such risks.

This single criterion of the soundness of a decision—that the person be ready to accept its consequences—is not entirely satisfactory logically, but it works very well in the practical situations with which counseling deals. In abstract discussions of this issue someone is sure to bring up questions like, "Suppose a counselee decides that the best way out of his difficulties is to murder his father," or, "What would you do if the client decided that suicide was the only reasonable course for him?" Perhaps we have not yet faced such ultimate questions as clearly as we might, but counseling experience brings with it a conviction that they are academic rather than vital, and bear little relationship to the counselor's day-to-day activity. Clients do not in fact decide on murder or suicide in our offices, and the problem of whether or not to try to dissuade them does not arise. We are assuming of course that the kind of differentiation we have discussed in Chapter IV has been made, and that psychotic and severely neurotic patients have been eliminated from our consideration in connection with this type of treatment.

It may be that when the history of the counseling movement is written and its achievements evaluated, the methods we have hit upon for facilitating responsible decisions will appear to be our greatest contribution to our common life. More research is certainly needed here. A more thorough analysis of what actually goes on in interviews of this type might tell us much that we could use in the many other situations—home, schoolroom, or office—in which we attempt to promote maturity and stability in the lives of ourselves and others.

X

The School Counselor's Place in a Total Personnel Program

Counseling is more than a profession. It is a point of view. Important as it is to develop skill in the use of various techniques it is still more important to keep in mind the purpose of the whole undertaking—the welfare of the individuals for whom the program exists. But since there are other people with that same aim, counseling inevitably involves some concern with their work also and an effort to strengthen the relationships within the personnel organization itself upon which the success of the whole venture depends.

Many large modern schools, both colleges and high schools, have developed a considerable variety of specialized personnel services. We need not go into the reasons for this development, some of which have been discussed in our first chapter—rapidly expanding enrollments, widening of the range of students' abilities in our educational institutions, the complexity of the world the adolescent must adjust to. It has come to seem important that in every school there should be someone concerned with students' health, someone to make sure housing arrangements are satisfactory, someone to promote rewarding social contacts. These are only a few of the services a well-equipped personnel department

offers. The American Council on Education has formulated a list of important college personnel functions (6, p. 206). The list, somewhat condensed, is as follows:

1. Interpreting institutional objectives and opportunity to prospective students and their parents, and to workers in secondary education.
2. Admitting students, in coöperation with secondary schools.
3. Orienting the new student to his college environment, and keeping him continuously and adequately informed of the educational opportunities and services available to him.
4. Providing counseling services which, with the aid of diagnostic facilities and other referral agencies, assist the student in adjusting to and planning for his educational, vocational, emotional, social, and religious growth.
5. Determining the physical and mental health status of the student and providing appropriate health service.
6. Providing and supervising an adequate housing program for students.
7. Providing and evaluating an adequate food service for students.
8. Developing, supervising, and evaluating a program for student activities.
9. Assembling and making available information to be used in improvement of instruction and in making the curriculum more adjustable to the needs of individuals.
10. Supervising and coördinating the program of financial aid and part-time employment of students, and counseling the student who needs to obtain such help.
11. Assisting the student to find appropriate employment when he leaves the institution and following up the student after he has left the institution.
12. Keeping student personnel records and making them available to the proper persons.
13. Regulating student conduct to the end that the individual will be strengthened and the welfare of the group advanced.
14. Maintaining student group morale by evaluating, understanding, and developing student mores.
15. Carrying on research studies designed to evaluate and improve personnel functions and services.

Inclusive as the list is, it still does not represent all the persons with whom a counselor needs to maintain good coöperative relationships. As has often been pointed out, every teacher is a personnel worker. Many are counselors in their own right. Long before

the days of specialized personnel services warm-hearted teachers were showing the kind of constructive, friendly interest in individual students which is the essence of counseling, and it is still true that a boy or girl may feel much more at home with a favorite English or science teacher than with the person whose special job is counseling. Furthermore the circle of relationships surrounding the counselor extends outside the school itself into the community. Family agencies, rehabilitation services, the Red Cross—any one or several social agencies may be concerned with an individual case. It is surely better that they all work together harmoniously rather than at cross-purposes.

At first glance it would seem a comparatively easy thing to fit counseling into the personnel organization of a school or college. Administratively it is simply a matter of drawing the right lines between squares that represent the various services. When the system is put into practice, however, difficulties may arise which are more than superficial. The counselor, because of his special interest in attitudes and human relationships, is perhaps in a better position than any of his colleagues to get rid of these difficulties since they are in the realm in which he is accustomed to working.

For one thing, the other personnel services are likely to differ from counseling with regard to the number of people they serve. A housing director may see two hundred students during a week in which a counselor sees only twenty, and may during the same period of time make decisions affecting the health and welfare of the whole student body. A director of social activities may make plans that affect hundreds of individuals at once. The consequence of this difference in scope is that the men and women working in the other departments are likely to consider counseling service as a minor appendage to the main body of personnel work, not really important because it touches the lives of relatively few students. The counselor, on the other hand, tends to look down on the other workers for superficiality. "These things are all very

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For one thing, the other personnel services are likely to differ from counseling with regard to the number of people they serve. A housing director may see two hundred students during a week in which a counselor sees only twenty, and may during the same period of time make decisions affecting the health and welfare of the whole student body. A director of social activities may make plans that affect hundreds of individuals at once. The consequence of this difference in scope is that the men and women working in the other departments are likely to consider counseling service as a minor appendage to the main body of personnel work, not really important because it touches the lives of relatively few students. The counselor, on the other hand, tends to look down on the other workers for superficiality. "These things are all very

admirable," he may say to himself, "and I suppose we need someone to look after them, but they do not make any profound and lasting changes in anybody's life. It is only counseling that has any psychological depth."

For the counselor to become aware of this difference in attitude is the first step toward correcting it. He must work through to an acceptance of other people's activities free from assumptions of superiority. It is certainly not true that counseling is the only personnel service to have deep and lasting effects. The girl who meets at a Student Union dance the man with whom she decides to spend the rest of her life has taken a very fundamental step as an indirect result of the efforts someone made to plan and organize the party. The stutterer who masters his defect through the help of a speech therapist is able to make sweeping changes in all his personal relationships as a consequence. Any service planned really to meet the needs of individuals, alone or in a group, can have profound results. The mutual understanding that wipes out conflicts of attitude and implicit class distinctions is at least partly a matter of specific and detailed knowledge of what other workers are attempting and accomplishing.

Another difference that arises between counselors and other kinds of personnel workers is a more elusive thing. It arises from the fact that, in contrast with counselors, many of them are almost forced to take a frankly paternalistic attitude toward the students they are dealing with. Once it has been agreed, for example, that it is best for freshmen to live in dormitories, a housing director must carry out this decision. His task is not to help individuals make up their minds about where they wish to live but actually to place them in satisfactory surroundings. It is expected that doctors and nurses will tell their patients what to do and what not to do. Academic advisers must make recommendations and try to extricate their charges from difficulties. The counselor is the only one who consistently tries *not* to decide things for his

client. This difference in approach shows up again and again in individual cases. To deal with each situation in such a way that neither his relationship to the client nor his relationship with other members of the personnel staff is jeopardized is one of the counselor's primary responsibilities.

We have explained in earlier chapters why it is better for his work that during the time counseling is in progress he try to avoid signing a student's petition for exemption from a school rule, advising a teacher or dean as to how he should be handled, or interfering with a disciplinary measure. If he succumbs to the temptation to do any of these things he risks changing the structure of the counseling relationship in a significant way. He may thus become in the client's eyes "a person who takes care of you" or "a friend who helps you out when you are in trouble." After counseling is completed there is less reason to be concerned about this. It may then be quite reasonable for the counselor, as the person who knows the student best, to write him a recommendation or to cast a deciding vote on whether or not he should be allowed to remain in college.

Clients who have had an interview or two generally sense the structure of the counseling relationship, even without any verbal explanation. They usually do not expect counselors to do these things for them. It is other members of the teaching or personnel staff who create such situations, and it is to them that the unique function of counseling should be made clear. And it must be made clear in such a way that there will be no hard feelings—so that barriers between departments will be destroyed rather than created. In some instances this can be done when the question first arises. If a faculty adviser telephones to ask whether or not he should let a student drop chemistry 10 from his program it is possible for the counselor to explain that he really does not know what would be best for the student and that it is better that he refrain from making a recommendation. He can also indicate,

however, that he knows it has to be decided one way or the other and show that he is not going to be critical of the decision. There are instances when it is better to comply with the request when it is made but to take whatever steps are necessary afterward both to clear up any complications in the counseling relationship that have resulted and to come to an understanding with the person whose action created the complication. For example, Peter Lovett, who has had only the first of what promises to be a fairly long series of personal counseling sessions, comes in with a petition form requesting that he be allowed to stay in college for another probationary term in spite of his low grades. He explains that the Dean of Men is willing to take the counselor's recommendation as to the granting of the petition. Once such a demand has been made there is *no* thoroughly satisfactory way for the counselor to proceed. By signing the recommendation he makes a considerable change in the role he is playing in Peter's life. He has become a person who can be used to protect the boy from the consequences of his own acts. He has also indicated by his signature that he would like Peter to stay on in college and thus has made a decision to do something else which might otherwise have emerged as counseling progressed somewhat less likely. If, on the other hand, he refuses to sign the petition, the consequences may be worse. Counseling probably cannot proceed at all if Peter leaves college. Even if he stays in the community he can hardly avoid feeling some resentment against a person he trusted who refused to help him in a crisis. This may make further work impossible. Faced with such a dilemma, a counselor will probably sign the petition and then try to deal with the difficulties the action has set up. He should also take steps to prevent being forced into that same corner in the future.

In working out arrangements with other members of the personnel staff and faculty the distinction we have tried to set up in previous chapters between information and advice can be very

useful. One of the most helpful things a counseling service can do is to put into the hands of those who must make decisions about a student all of the non-confidential information that is available. (The difference between confidential and non-confidential information is discussed in some detail in Chapter III.) The student is usually quite willing that this be done so that the facts about his tested abilities and achievements will receive due consideration when decisions affecting his future are made. The establishing of a central information file may do much in itself to unify separated personnel departments.

We must not think of the counselor's relationship to staff members as mainly the negative or neutral one of insuring that their actions do not hamper his own work. Such an attitude is out of keeping with the whole spirit of counseling. Inevitably as the workers who deal with students in their respective professional capacities come to know each other well there is a sharing of attitude and outlook that has its effect on the whole program. The counselor becomes more impressed with the value of group work and the needs of the normal, average student. The others become conscious of the difference between a paternalistic outlook and an attitude of respect for mature individuals. They see that rules and housing arrangements can be thought through from this viewpoint and made to promote maturity rather than prolong adolescence.

No counselor would advocate revolutionary changes with regard to such matters. He knows that the sudden abolition of all the regulations to which students have become accustomed would be more likely to lead to chaos than maturity. He knows that the making of good decisions for oneself is a serious, difficult job, and that the process does not occur automatically as soon as a person is left free to make all his own decisions. He realizes also the school's responsibilities to parents, and the importance of good public relations, factors which inevitably bulk large in the think-

ing of school administrators. But within whatever framework may exist in a particular school, the participation of counselors in the personnel program should serve to promote policies which will help students increasingly to carry their own responsibilities rather than to have them carried for them and to learn from the consequences of their actions rather than to be protected from them.

The means through which integration of diverse personnel services can be accomplished can be classified under several headings. The first is what we might call democracy in administration. It is not primarily the counselor's business unless he also plays an administrative role, and thus it falls outside the scope of this book. It calls for clear organization of personnel functions to avoid overlapping and competition, the selection of skilled, intelligent men and women to fill all positions, and the granting to them of a large measure of autonomy in carrying on their special work. It also means that policies should be developed through discussion and consultation among those most concerned rather than laid down from above.

The second means of promoting unity is one we have already touched upon—personal conferences about issues and problems themselves. Simple as this sounds, it is often neglected. One Veterans Administration vocational adviser used to dispatch a memorandum to any member of his staff who failed to fill out a required form correctly, even though the man was only three doors down the hall from him. Nothing could be more remote from the attitude of friendship and mutual confidence at which we are aiming. A telephone call is much to be preferred to a memorandum; a personal conference is better than a telephone call. If a counselor thinks it important that referrals be made in one way rather than another, his obvious course of action is to talk the matter over with the persons concerned. If he is asked for information he considers confidential it is not enough that

he refuse to give it. He should explain his reasons to the person who has asked for it and try to clear up their relationship so that from this time on they can coöperate without friction. Personal relationships of a constructive sort do not spring up by themselves like weeds; they are garden plants requiring careful cultivation.

The third means of integrating services is through frequent staff meetings. On these occasions common problems can be taken up, new policies discussed, and old ones evaluated. New workers can become familiar with the scope of the whole program. Student apprentices can add to their training a breadth of view difficult to acquire in any other way. In a large institution where the number of personnel workers is also very large it may be impractical to call them all together, and sessions may need to be arranged for sub-groups, such as faculty advisers, dormitory counselors and head residents, and so forth, but there should be as much interchange of persons and ideas as possible. In a smaller college or high school the general staff meeting can be scheduled without difficulty.

One of the methods which has proved useful at such meetings for stimulating thinking and promoting an understanding of other points of view is to center the discussions around individual cases. Any member of the staff may select an individual whose story can be told to the group, a person who represents a special problem or an unusual combination of circumstances. A number of questions can then be raised. What information is available to facilitate decisions that need to be made? Would any of the other departments be able to contribute to a solution of the problem? If so, how should the person be introduced to them?

A concrete example will show how the process works. Mrs. Dixon, the head resident in one of the college dormitories, brings up the problem of Susan Sharp, a girl in her house who is said to be stealing the possessions of other girls. Her roommate has reported losing a nylon nightgown and a pair of pearl earrings

and finding them a week later in Susan's drawer. The girl next door lost a blouse and a pair of stockings which also turned up later in Susan's possession. Various other minor losses have occurred, but there is no clear proof that Susan is responsible for them. Everyone in the house thinks she is, however, and she has become extremely unpopular in spite of her attractive appearance and general social adaptability. This has naturally affected her feeling toward her house mates. She has become sullen, uncooperative, and very caustic in her remarks. When Mrs. Dixon talked to her about her roommate's accusation she denied flatly that she had stolen the articles and insisted that Jane must have placed them in her drawer by mistake. She admitted that she might have taken the other girl's blouse and stockings off the line in the washroom along with her own, but she resented the accusation that she had done it intentionally. Mrs. Dixon concludes her outline of the problem situation with the questions uppermost in her mind, "What should I do? Should Susan be required to move out of the dormitory? If so, where should she go? Is this a matter for the discipline committee? Should her parents be notified?" Something must be done because of the turmoil into which these incidents have plunged the house. But what?

Information from the central file shows that Susan is the only child of wealthy divorced parents, and that her mother lives in the city where the college is located. Susan is above average in academic ability and has always done satisfactory work in school, but the principal has noted on his recommendation blank that she showed a tendency toward moodiness and had not been popular with her classmates. There is no record of specific deficiencies or handicaps or of delinquency of any sort. These facts suggest to some of the group that Susan's problem must be fundamentally an emotional one calling for psychological help. Someone suggests that she be referred to the counseling center. Mr. Lucas, a counselor, raises some objections. The first is that so long as the

girl maintains that she is being unjustly accused she is not really amenable to psychotherapy and it would be almost impossible to make the referral in such a way that she could make use of the service. The other is that if this is an emotional problem it may be one of more seriousness than the counseling center is prepared to deal with. Since the parents are clearly able to afford psychiatric service, perhaps such treatment should be recommended in case it becomes possible to recommend anything. (If the college health service provides for psychiatric service, this is of course one obvious alternative.) The group discusses for some time the ways in which Susan might be introduced to psychotherapy.

Mrs. Dixon reminds the others, however, that the problem as she sees it has as much to do with the other girls in the house as with Susan herself. She feels that in order to restore the morale and group spirit which the dormitory workers have tried so hard to promote, it is going to be necessary to get Susan out. A vicious circle has been created. The more the girl is gossiped about and shunned by the others the more disagreeable she becomes. This leads to still greater unpopularity, more gossip, more avoidance. Somehow this pattern must be broken up regardless of whether she is guilty or innocent, neurotic or normal. Discussion in the group now centers for a time around possible arrangements that could be made for Susan. Since there is no clear evidence of guilt she cannot be expelled from school, even if it were advisable that such drastic action be taken. Most of the participants are agreed that it is *not* advisable. Since her mother lives in town it might be arranged that her daughter live at home with her. It is suspected that her relationship to her mother is not a very happy one, but no-one in the group really knows. Another possibility is a single room now available in another dormitory. The rate is higher than the amount she is now paying, but this seems not to be an obstacle in this particular case. To effect a transfer to these new living quarters would solve Mrs. Dixon's immediate problem. The ques-

tion for discussion then becomes, however, "In what terms should the matter be presented to Susan? Should she be told frankly that she is being required to move because of the trouble her alleged thefts have stirred up? Should she be *asked* whether she would like to move to another house? Should she be given a choice of moving to the other place or going home to stay with her mother?"

Another of the dormitory head residents raises again a point which he feels keeps getting lost in what seems to him a somewhat over-psychological discussion. There is at least a possibility that the girl is in fact innocent, a victim of a series of unfortunate mistakes. Her statement as to how the belongings of her roommate and the girl next door happened to have shown up in her possession may be literally true. Once she had been accused of these thefts it would be only natural that her name should be linked with any subsequent loss. While most of the group feel that this interpretation is not very probable, they agree that it must be kept in mind as a possibility and that it has some bearing on the way in which Susan is to be approached about moving. Under the circumstances no ultimatum can be delivered. Unless clearer proof of guilt is forthcoming, she can be asked or advised but not required to move.

The discussion shifts over to the question, "If she stubbornly elects to stay, what then?" The possibility of breaking up the vicious circle Mrs. Dixon has described by attempting to modify the attitudes of the other girls is naturally brought up. Mrs. Dixon feels that it might hold some promise although she is not very optimistic about it. She knows her house well enough to have a fairly clear idea as to which girls should be approached first if the matter is to be handled in this way. By the time the meeting ends some alternative ways of dealing with the situation, taking everything into consideration, have been worked out.

We have presented the case conference as one means of bring-

ing about unity of purpose and friendly coöperation between personnel workers. It should be obvious from the foregoing example that another value of the method which is fully as important is that it actually leads to sounder decisions about individuals. When complex problems are scrutinized from every angle in this manner, their full complexity is more likely to be recognized. Partial solutions are seen to be inadequate. Individual biases in one direction or another are corrected. Snap diagnoses are avoided. Thus for the sake of its consequences both for the clients discussed and the participants in the discussions, the presentation of individual case to staff meetings can be highly recommended.

We have examined in considerable detail the counselor's relationships to other professional personnel workers. The same principles apply to his relationships both in narrower and in broader areas. On the one hand he needs to be concerned that all members of the staff of the counseling center itself—counselors, psychometrists, and clerical workers—are working together as a team with high morale and a genuine interest in the clients they serve. Undercurrents of discontent, minor resentments and misunderstandings, should be recognized and dealt with before they produce serious rifts. Here too good communication is essential. Through personal conversations and group discussion of common problems, mutual confidence and healthy attitudes can be maintained or strengthened.

Bonds between the counseling services and the faculty as a whole can be strengthened through the counselor's participation on committees and boards, such as those concerned with the granting of scholarships, the planning of extra-curricular activities, the improvement of the curriculum, or the enforcement of academic regulations. Serving on such committees has a dual value. It helps to promote good personal relationships and at the same time to develop general policies increasingly in keeping with the personnel point of view. Too much of this type of activity may

interfere with the service to individuals which is the counselor's primary job, but too little of it may create or perpetuate conditions in which it is difficult to do that job well.

The area in which good personal relationships are constructive factors facilitating the counselor's work must be broadened still further to include community agencies. How many and which ones of these a school counselor must consider depends upon the specific nature of his work. If he is concerned primarily with vocational guidance he cannot ignore the Employment Service. He may find that they too are carrying on a comprehensive program of occupational counseling. As has been said earlier, both the aptitude tests and the occupational information developed through the research program of this agency are the best available at present. For a number of years they have been conducting special institutes to train their staff members to use these resources. It is important that the school and the Employment Service in a community do not go into competition or view each other's efforts with suspicion. The kind of friendly personal contacts we have been recommending for within-school relationships are serviceable here also. Through them can be worked out coöperative arrangements which will strengthen both agencies.

At least some of a counselor's clients are likely to be persons who suffer from handicaps resulting from illness or injury. Keeping in touch with the State Rehabilitation Service will enable him to serve such clients better. Here again he will probably find that a flourishing counseling program is already in existence, and again he must realize that it has some advantages the school does not have in its facilities for thorough physical examination, placement, and continuous follow-up. Coöperation is obviously advantageous.

A counselor who deals primarily with personal problems and emotional conflicts will need to keep in touch with other mental health resources of the community. If there are public clinics

for children or adults he will wish to know as much as possible about them—whom they serve, what their standards for admission are, and how long their waiting lists tend to be. He will also seek a personal acquaintance with psychiatrists practicing in the community so that when he refers to a client it can be by name in the simple friendly fashion that begins immediately to create an attitude favorable to psychotherapy.

A knowledge of community social agencies is also often useful, especially to the high school counselor most of whose clients are still living at home with their families. Often the problem with which the boy or girl is struggling is in reality a family problem, one with which some agency might help. (It is of course important here that no step be taken without the full knowledge and consent of the student. If a counselor passes on confidential information about a family to a social worker who proceeds to investigate the case it may make the student feel that he has been betrayed, and may so antagonize the family that his usefulness in this case and perhaps in many others is jeopardized. We have considered this matter in more detail in Chapter III.) The Juvenile Court often has an interest in some of a counselor's teen-age clients, and once more it is advisable that they work together rather than at cross-purposes. There are many churches whose ministers are committed to the counseling viewpoint and are doing a great deal of this sort of work. They too are a counselor's natural allies and friends.

We have not begun to exhaust the list of community agencies and organizations, but enough have probably been mentioned to illustrate this aspect of the counselor's task. The developing of respect, confidence, and easy coöperation is not the work of a month or even a year. It must be a gradual growth over a longer period of time based on the constructive handling of each occasion that arises for working together.

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It may be that in the long run the indirect results of such co-

operation and common concern with community needs may be fully as important as the specific undertakings out of which they grow. School personnel workers talk a great deal about the "personnel point of view" and its desirability in education generally. There is no reason why the same concept should not be applied to the larger community surrounding the school. It is a difficult term to define with any precision but it is not so difficult to recognize it in operation. It means that each person is seen as a human individual who is constantly changing and developing, not just as a lesson-learner, an employee, or a consumer of goods. It calls for the clearing away of conditions which hamper sound development and the setting up of conditions which promote it. It is this unifying idea that constitutes a solid basis for coöperation among counselors, social workers, ministers, youth leaders, employment specialists, architects, and city planners. Human development rather than counseling itself is our larger aim.

XI

Selection and Training of Counselors

With the sharp increase in the demand for counseling services that has come with the post-war years, leaders of the profession have become more and more concerned with problems of standards and training. What kinds of people should be encouraged to go into this kind of work? What should they know? What sorts of experience should they have? Complications arise from the fact that a considerable variety of men and women with all types of backgrounds are now carrying on these tasks, many of them very effectively. It would not be difficult to point out examples that seem to show that a counselor should get his basic training as an engineer, a musician, or a football coach. A further complication comes from the variety of things counselors are doing. To base training programs entirely on a job analysis of what persons in the profession are now called upon to do might perpetuate bad practices along with good ones and stand in the way of progress.

It will simplify our consideration of training problems if we break them down into two main categories. The first has to do with college students without previous experience who wish to become counselors. The second will be concerned with persons now doing counseling who realize their need for additional training.

Because the recommended sequence of courses and experiences for the would-be counselor has not as yet been embodied in an organized training program that all colleges follow, it is well that the individual himself know what has been recommended so that he can take the responsibility for arranging his programs accordingly. Three national organizations representing different groups of counselors, Division 17 of the American Psychological Association, the American College Personnel Association, and the National Vocational Guidance Association, have all had committees working actively on this problem. Their reports show substantial agreement with one another. They are available in published form but have not as yet led to the development of standard curricula.

Members of these committees are faced at the beginning with the fact that there are now and perhaps will always be different levels at which counselors function. The American Psychological Association group has recognized this most explicitly (192). The first level they call "Part-time Counselor." It consists of persons who are carrying on some counseling in connection with their other duties in schools, industries, churches, or social agencies. The second level they call "Psychological Counselor." It requires the equivalent of two years of graduate training and would probably carry some sort of master's degree label. The third level they call "Counselor-Psychologist." It calls for a longer period of graduate work leading to a doctor's degree.

We shall concern ourselves here primarily with the second level. The American Psychological Association committee recognized, as have the committees from the other personnel organizations mentioned above, that even if it were clearly desirable to require doctor's degrees of all counselors it would be a long time before such an objective would be attainable, in view of the widespread demand for counseling services. The work is now being done and will continue for some time to be done by persons with

about the Level 2 *quantity* of educational preparation. Our efforts should be devoted first to improving its *quality*. Furthermore, the recommendations made for the training of higher-level Counselor-Psychologists (191) include the same areas and courses. What is added for these more highly-trained specialists is a broader basis of knowledge in other fields of psychology, more practice with a wide variety of human problems both in and out of the normal range, a more intensive and thorough training in research methods, and preparation for supervisory activities. Thus what we shall say about Level 2 preparation is applicable also to Level 3.

The American Psychological Association committee has classified the essential kinds of preparation needed by the Psychological Counselor under eight broad headings. The first of these is "Personality Organization and Development." This includes a number of separate courses and makes up as much as a fifth of the individual's total graduate training program. Specifically he should know well (*a*) the current *theories* about personality, (*b*) the *developmental* patterns of perceptual, conceptual, and social behavior, (*c*) the psychological characteristics of *deviant personalities*, and (*d*) the relationships of personality to *cultural determinants*. The courses a student in a particular institution will need to take in order to give him this background will depend upon how things are organized there. He may, for example, need to take Child and Adolescent Psychology in the College of Education, and the work on cultural determinants in the sociology or anthropology departments. The kind of credit a course carries is not important. The content and the capability of the instructor are.

The second heading is "Knowledge of Social Environment." This includes such things as information about community social agencies and the kinds of help they are equipped to give, occupations and sources of information about them, marriage and family

patterns and the heterogeneity of sub-group attitudes with regard to them. The psychologists allocate less than a tenth of the person's graduate training to this area. To the other groups who have considered counselor preparation its importance bulks larger and they tend to assign it to a more prominent place in the total picture.

The third heading is "Appraisal of the Individual (Theory and Practice)." The suggested sub-divisions here are: (*a*) measurement and individual differences, (*b*) the administration and interpretation of individual intelligence and aptitude tests, (*c*) informal methods of group and individual appraisal such as interviews, autobiographies, questionnaires, records, and observations, and (*d*) projective techniques. This work is seen as requiring about a sixth of the total training time. Here again some of the specific courses through which the knowledge is obtained might in many institutions be found in education rather than psychology departments.

The fourth heading is "Counseling Theory and Practice." This includes both courses setting forth processes, procedures, and theories of counseling and a considerable amount of supervised experience. Altogether this area should make up something like a third of the individual's total training program, including as it does an internship which should extend over at least a third of a year.

The fifth heading is "Personal Therapeutic Experience," but the committee did not wish to specify that this be required of all trainees. Since it falls outside the framework of course planning with which we are primarily concerned at this point we will postpone the consideration of it until later in the chapter.

The sixth heading is "Research and Statistics." The objective for Level 2 counselors would seem to be a clear understanding of principles essential for the interpretation of tests and the evaluation of research rather than skill in using the techniques and

carrying out research studies. As has been said, this is the heading under which the differences between Level 2 and Level 3 are most marked.

The seventh heading is "Professional Orientation." This includes such things as professional ethics and an understanding of the administrative patterns within which counseling functions.

The eighth heading is "Diversification," and constitutes a miscellaneous category leaving room for the particular needs which individuals are likely to show.

We have gone into more detail about the American Psychological Association committee report than about any of the others because it represents both the most recent and the most intensive study that has been made of the counselor training problem. It might be advisable, however, for the young person planning his own program to keep in mind also the points on which the recommendations made by the American College Personnel Association, the National Vocational Guidance Association, the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, and various other groups differ from these. While they all outline the same broad areas of psychological knowledge, these other organizations which are closer to school personnel programs tend first of all to place somewhat more emphasis on Heading 2, "Knowledge of the Environment," especially as it relates to knowledge about occupations. Secondly they recommend that some background training in professional education and teaching experience be included as essential preparation for counselors.

Not all undergraduates steering their course in this direction realize how almost universal this teaching requirement is for school counselors. In the twenty-three states that now have special certification for school counselors, some teaching experience, usually two years, is one of the specifications (93). In other states where no special counselor certificate is given, the hiring of counselors from among the ranks of teachers is the accepted practice.

Since these rulings ordinarily apply to junior colleges as well as secondary schools, they cover a large proportion of the positions available in counseling, and practically all of those available to persons trained to the Master's degree level.

This means that a young person who decides while he is an undergraduate that he would like to be a counselor needs to set as an intermediate goal the obtaining of a teaching certificate valid in his state. This will ordinarily require that he take a certain prescribed minimum of professional education courses, including practice teaching, and that he acquire a reasonable proficiency in some field of subject matter which forms a part of the secondary school curriculum. It is best that he defer the specialized training in counseling that we have outlined first until his graduate years, although he should get a general background in psychology if he can. Courses in biological and social science and in the humanities should also be a part of his undergraduate experience, since they help to produce the broad, tolerant, flexible view of human individuals and their problems which is so important to a counselor's work.

For the large number of men and women who are now doing counseling as an outgrowth of the work in which they started, the training problem is complex and in many ways more difficult. In the first place, a person in this position may find that the responsibility for securing further training rests on himself alone. When a small high school sets up a counseling program by transferring Miss Hawkes, a popular, successful English teacher, into a counseling position, the administration feels that the problem is solved. No one in the school system is in a position to say whether or not Miss Hawkes is doing an adequate job except Miss Hawkes herself. It is a tribute to the sense of responsibility of teachers in this position that so many of them reach out for summer and extension courses that will increase their knowledge and sharpen their skill.

It is evident that the same core of material in psychology, sociology, and education should constitute the solid foundation of the training of the experienced as for the inexperienced. But it may well be that the sequence in which the different parts of it are taken up should not be the same. The decision as to what should come first can be made on the basis of direct applicability to the daily tasks with which the working counselor is confronted.

When we apply this touchstone, we find in most cases that it is knowledge about the counseling process itself that is most urgently needed. The one thing counseling always involves is interviewing. The interviewing skills we have discussed in Chapters II, VIII, and IX do not spring full-blown into existence when a person takes on a counselor's role, and they do not develop as an offshoot of teaching skills. One needs to learn them. Fortunately in a school situation like this the teacher-counselor will have plenty of opportunity to practice them once she understands what they are. Thus the first course to be scheduled may well be one in counseling techniques and procedures.

As has been stated before, it seems advisable for counselors not to use tests until they are thoroughly familiar with their characteristics and limitations. Since it is a considerable advantage to be able to bring tests into a counseling program, the next of the principal areas to be covered probably should be "Appraisal of the Individual." This may need to be preceded or supplemented by course work in the theory of mental measurement and statistics, depending upon the way things are organized at the institution offering the courses.

The more general fields listed first for the inexperienced trainees, personality theory and abnormal psychology, will thus come last for the experienced, not because they are of little importance, but because the other information is more urgently needed. Individuals doing counseling will probably have had at least some of this more general material as part of their background for

teaching. The learning process, growth and development of children and adolescents, and mental hygiene are often included as part of the work in professional education.

How much work is needed in the other areas staked out by the American Psychological Association committee will depend upon the individual case. Some types of job require more knowledge about occupations than others do. Some individuals already have a much better understanding of cultural sub-groups and community agencies than others do. Professional orientation can often be acquired through reading and membership in professional organizations rather than through planned course work.

The presence in the counseling profession of a large number of persons with partial training and a few with no training at all makes one ethical principle of paramount importance. This eleventh commandment for the counselor is, "Thou shalt not use techniques that thou understandest not." We must remember always that people's futures are at stake. A false test interpretation, unsound information about an occupation, a bungling though well-intentioned attempt at psychotherapy can have consequences that go on and on in the life of the person we are attempting to help. It is much better to do nothing except to afford him a friendly, uncritical situation in which he can think out loud than to run the risk of *mis*information and guidance in wrong directions. It is only as one becomes thoroughly at home in the more specialized techniques that he is in a position to use them wisely.

The problem of selection for the counseling profession has turned out to be far more difficult than the problem of training. In fact, it is so difficult that at present no solution is in sight. We know, of course, from the analysis of the material to be mastered during the training program—statistical concepts, psychological theory, and so forth—that a person undertaking it needs to be above the college average in intellectual level, like those in other areas of advanced graduate study. It seems likely also that high

intelligence is an asset in the understanding of complex emotional attitudes and personal relationships which is such an essential part of the counselor's work. The difficulty is that people with the necessary mental ability and a strong desire to do counseling do not all show the personal characteristics that make for success and satisfaction. It is just these personal characteristics which at present we are not able to analyze or to predict.[1]

It may be that we have been approaching the problem from the wrong direction. The assumption that there is a certain combination of personal characteristics which is optimum for counseling may be unsound. It seems possible now that men and women of a wide variety of personality types can function successfully in this situation. If we give up the belief that there is *one* standard relationship that should be created in every case, we can relinquish along with it the requirement that the counselor be any *one* type of person. Logical-sounding reasons have been given for emphasizing certain personality traits, but often reasons with just as much logic can be advanced for their opposites. One can say, for instance, that a counselor should be a very stable, well-adjusted individual himself so that the help he attempts to give others with their problems will not constitute a case of the blind leading the blind. It can just as well be said, however, that a counselor should have experienced anxiety, conflict, and indecision in his own life so that he can understand it in others. Some would hold that a counselor should be an extrovert responding easily to other people. Others would stress the need for introversive characteristics if he is to have the capacity to enter another's thought world imaginatively. Perhaps we will be closer to the truth if we assume that any personality pattern that permits rich and deep relationships with other human beings to develop is satisfactory. Just as there is no one kind of personality essential to one's functioning as hus-

[1] The study on clinical psychology trainees discussed at some length in the research summary to Chapter IV is relevant here.

band or wife, mother or father, lover, neighbor, or friend, so there is no one kind essential to the counselor.

The thing that does matter is one's attitude or orientation, but this is difficult to evaluate with any precision and very much subject to change with experience. As we have repeatedly emphasized before, the greatest handicaps to counseling are hostility (or in milder form indifference) and obtuseness (or a tendency to oversimplify). The man or woman who plans to make counseling his life work should do everything possible to avoid or eradicate these traits, and keeping himself free from them will be a continuing responsibility long after his training period is over.

The necessity for keeping basic attitudes sound is closely related to the question as to whether personal therapy of some sort should be a part of every counselor's training. Practically all those who have given the matter any thought consider such experience valuable; they differ mainly on whether it should be compulsory. Besides the part it can play in producing accepting attitudes toward people, it can be recommended for other reasons. It helps the individual to know where his own biases and sensitive areas are, so that he can be prepared for complications that may arise in some counseling situations and relationships. Furthermore, his willingness to take such a step indicates that he does not place himself in a category different from or superior to his clients. He accepts his own human weaknesses in the same way as he accepts theirs.

If personal therapy is to become an accepted part of the experience through which men and women learn to be counselors, the graduate schools giving training will need to provide for it in the arrangements they make, and individual trainees will need to know of its availability. It will then be the responsibility of the person himself to evaluate his own attitudes and decide what he wishes to do. In the light of the knowledge we now have, these arrangements seem preferable to a rigid requirement with regard

to it. Psychotherapy is not the only method for achieving the sound, constructive attitudes toward others which counseling demands. It may be that for some kinds of people long walks in the country, participation in the arts, or conversation with a trusted friend serves some of the same purposes. It is the goal that is important, not the means one takes to reach it.

Once we really take seriously the fact of the fundamental importance of attitudes toward others in counseling, we realize that modifications of some of our traditional customs with regard to graduate and professional training are called for. It would seem to be self-evident that the experiences through which a student passes on his way to professional status as a counselor should not be productive of frustration and hostility. One of the strongest arguments for a fairly rigorous preliminary selection on an intellectual basis is that it insures that those undertaking difficult graduate courses will be persons who *need* not feel overly anxious about their abilities, defensive about their performance, or too conscious of competition. It is then the responsibility of those planning training programs to think in terms of attitudes as well as skills and to organize class work and practicum experiences in such a way as to keep morale high and minimize anxious, hostile, competitive motivation.

In friendly, stimulating surroundings where insight and self-acceptance are encouraged, much selection can be *self*-selection. A woman whose underlying motive for going into counseling is a desire to manage other people's lives may see herself more clearly as time passes and decide that counseling does not constitute for her the absorbing interest she thought it did. The boy who assumed unconsciously that he would get rid of his own crippling sense of inferiority if he could put himself in a position from which he could look down on persons with problems will have less need to pursue this course if his inferiority feelings decrease. All sorts of complex motivations underlie decisions to become

counselors (and all other types of work, of course). The most skillful clinician would not be able to analyze accurately what these motives are at the time a candidate applies for admission to graduate training, but the individual himself may be able to face them and deal with them a little later.

The reader may be conscious as he concludes this chapter of an incomplete quality, a feeling that he has not been told what he would like to know. "I'm still not sure as to whether I am the sort of person who should go into counseling," he may well be saying, "and I still haven't a clear idea of what sequence of courses I should take if I do." The most that can be said in response to such doubts is that this is the way things stand at present. The task of the counselor is being gradually clarified, and more and more agreement is being reached as to training programs and procedures. But as yet there is no certainty. Our thinking about these problems fifty years hence may be quite different from what it is today. When one chooses a profession of this new variety, a profession which has not yet settled into any kind of a rigid mold, he accepts both the assets and liabilities that go with such a choice.

XII

The Significance of Evaluation Studies

Research summaries have been included with some of the previous chapters so that the reader would be able to judge the extent to which counseling practices have been supported by evidence of their effectiveness. In connection with the larger problem of the evaluation of the counseling enterprise as a whole, and its major components, research is not supplementary; it *is* the chapter. If we are to plan ahead, we need to know this material. Sketchy as it is in many areas, and deficient as it is in many respects, it still constitutes a sounder basis for judgment as to what counselors can and cannot do successfully than anyone's unsupported opinion.

The studies that have been published can be divided for convenience into three main groups each of which can be further sub-divided. One is concerned with the evaluation of the total effects of counseling. Another has to do with the value of separate parts of the service, especially interviews, tests, and occupational information. A third and less common type of study compares the effectiveness of two different methods or approaches.

Whichever of these things a research worker sets out to do, he encounters several rather serious difficulties. These have been well analyzed in papers by Williamson and Bordin (178), Froehlich (57), and Travers (164). In the first place, the question

arises as to whether the criterion of success should be satisfaction or adjustment. It can be argued with some conviction that the basic evidence as to the satisfactoriness of the service rendered is what the recipient thinks about it. If he is pleased and feels he has been helped, we can consider our efforts successful. While most research workers would agree with this way of thinking to some extent, they can see reasons for going beyond it. There are certain social conventions that make for positive findings in studies planned this way. When anyone asks a person whether he feels better or worse as a result of some experience, it seems to be more natural for him to report an improvement than a decline. It is easy enough to get evidence favorable to counseling by this method. The trouble is that the same sort of evidence can be obtained for the success of fortune-tellers, phrenologists, and faith-healers.

If we decide, then, to rest our case on adjustment rather than, or in addition to, satisfaction, we face some new problems. Should we use objective or subjective evaluations of this adjustment? The objective criteria such as grade point changes and drop-out rate for students, number of job changes and earnings for workers, are definite, clear-cut, and convenient to use in statistical computations. But it is easy to see that any one of them can be misleading in an individual case. If we use drop-out rate in a counseling group as our criterion, we are loading the dice against ourselves to the extent that our group contains low-ability students for whom persistence in academic work is an *un*favorable rather than favorable indication. If we use grade point changes we are not taking into consideration a considerable number of bright but unhappy students whose grades are likely to *drop* somewhat when their social adjustment improves. There are many instances when giving up a job is a healthier thing to do than clinging to it. In spite of these qualifications which place limits on what we could hope to show using such objective criteria, there still is a place for

them. On the whole, we might expect *averages* of counseled and non-counseled groups to differ on these things, even if there were numerous individual exceptions to the general trend. The alternative subjective methods involve the use of someone's rating of the degree of adjustment achieved in each individual case. Sometimes the raters are given case material to read; sometimes they base their judgments on follow-up interviews. These methods are subject to the same difficulties and limitations as all other types of ratings. Some degree of reliability can be attained by using two or more raters and clarifying for them the nature of their task. Their judgments will still, of course, represent whatever attitudes they have as to what constitutes success and adjustment in our society, attitudes which may not be appropriate in all individual cases. However, this method also has a very definite place in follow-up research. If *both* objective and subjective criteria are used, each tends to correct the defects in the other.

Another puzzling problem has to do with the use of a control group with which the counseled group can be compared. It would seem, as in all research in which changes are to be assessed, that it would be important to make such a provision in one's experimental design. Whatever our criterion, we know that changes occur in individuals in the absence of any identifiable influence that has been brought to bear on them. Unless changes produced by counseling are more marked than such spontaneous changes tend to be, we cannot be sure that it has been effective. For instance, in a high school study, the fact that a group of seniors shows a higher level of adjustment than they showed a year earlier as juniors might indicate simply increasing maturity, the influence of a particularly helpful homeroom teacher, a change in academic regulations, or an improved extra-curricular program—or something different from all of these. The only way we can be sure that counseling produced it is to compare the gains with gains made in a similar group where no counseling was given. To

find suitable control groups is not easy. Where counseling is voluntary, as we have been recommending that it should be, the very fact that an individual seeks it out shows that he is different in some aspect of his motivation from another person who seems to be like him in age, intelligence, and circumstances. Thus the practice, common in many research fields, of pairing each member of the control group with one member of the experimental group, works less well here. We do not know how to match the pairs on this motivational characteristic which may have a more important bearing on our particular problem than does any other trait. The obvious solution from the standpoint of methodology, to give counseling service to only half the applicants for it and use the other half as controls, is difficult to justify in a service agency. Investigators have solved this problem in various ways, and most of their solutions are not altogether satisfactory. In some cases it has been possible to compare the results of a new program with those of a program already in existence and thus evaluate the significance of the features that have been added.

There has been one study directed specifically to the problem of developing good criteria of counseling effectiveness. Froehlich (58) located 279 former clients of the State Consultation Service, Richmond, Virginia. The subjects were interviewed according to a rather detailed interview schedule yielding information on many specific items having to do with occupational and personal adjustment. Relationships between these items were analyzed statistically. Clusters of related answers having to do with occupational adjustment, personal adjustment, and attitudes were found. The change-of-status criteria seemed not to be related to the others. In this report Froehlich made no attempt to tie up these criteria with any aspect of the counseling clients had previously received, but they should constitute useful tools for subsequent research. Clear-cut criteria of counseling effectiveness have been badly needed.

The first group of studies we shall discuss are attempts to appraise a total *guidance* program. Such programs of course include many services besides counseling, so that evidence of their effectiveness cannot be related to counseling alone. Kefauver and Hand (88) compared an eleventh grade group from a city having an outstanding program with an equivalent group from a city having very little guidance emphasis. No difference showed up in the percentage of students with vocational choices, in vocational information, or in measured adjustment. In the group with the good guidance facilities, however, the average IQ of those planning to enter the professions was more in line with professional requirements (117.5 as compared to 104.2 in the non-guidance group) and students had more knowledge of college requirements. Remmers and Whisler (123) reported changes in measured attitudes toward five occupations following a guidance program consisting largely of talks and self-analysis. Cole (33) in 1936 followed up two matched groups of 100 boys each who had been members of Worcester Boys Club in 1931. One group had been counseled, the other not. Counseled boys were significantly higher on all criteria—persistence in school, job level, freedom from delinquency, and so on—but since we are not told on what basis counseling was given to some and not to others, the possibility of motivational differences between experimental and control subjects remains. Hutson and Webster (81) compared a group of eleventh graders who had experienced a special guidance program the year before with the previous group of eleventh graders who had not experienced it. The emphasis in the experimental group was on *self*-evaluation. Relationships between success in specific courses and various predictive variables were emphasized. The students in the guidance group planning to go to college were higher in previous grades than were college-goers among the controls, and the distribution of occupational choices was more like the census distribution although still warped some-

what toward the white-collar end. Experimental subjects also made higher grades in elective courses, which would seem to indicate wiser choices. No statistical significance tests are given, but the numbers are large enough so that differences are more likely to be significant than they are in some other reported studies.

The most carefully designed of the studies evaluating a guidance program as a whole is that reported by Worbois (181). A ninth grade class was divided into two equated halves. Controls were given only the regular school guidance; experimental subjects were given intensive individual guidance over a three-year period. At the close of this time 24 from each group were tested by the Luria technique, which is a method of using involuntary motor responses to a word association test as an indicator of emotional disturbance. The experimental group was significantly more stable by this criterion than was the control group. The use of the objective criterion of emotionality rather than some type of self-report, as well as the comparability of experimental and control subjects, makes this study stand out.

Next we turn to a group of studies in which counseling has been evaluated by asking former clients if it has been helpful. It is hardly necessary to consider in detail the reports that have been made by Paterson and Clarke (113), Hawkins and Fialkin (73), Anderson (7), Gaudet, Carli, and Dennegar (59), Glazer and England (62), Barnette (15), and Ward (170), since there is a remarkable consistency about them. Of the subjects who send in questionnaire replies, from 80 to 90 per cent report full or partial satisfaction with the service. The consistency with which the percentage in the 80's shows up is especially interesting in that a variety of types of subjects are represented in the above-mentioned studies—college students, unemployed men and women, industrial workers, and veterans. Unfortunately, none of these investigators succeeded in getting all of his subjects to return their questionnaires, so that we are left in doubt as to the

attitudes of the non-respondents. Furthermore, the impossibility of getting a control group for this type of study keeps it from being conclusive. We cannot ask people who have not received any counseling to report on whether it has helped them. This constant figure *may* represent only the proportion of favorable answers one is likely to get to any sort of question about influences on one's life. It is interesting to note that an early study from Australia reported by Mirk (107) also gives comparable figures.

The third group of studies we shall discuss together consists of attempts to evaluate counseling using more rigorous criteria than client opinion. From the beginning of the so-called "scientific" vocational guidance movement considerable emphasis was placed on follow-up studies which would show how successful the programs were. One is conscious in reading these reports from previous decades how much our attitude has shifted away from authoritativeness and counselor decision-making. The feature of the guidance situation that is apparently being evaluated in most of these studies is the counselor's clinical judgment as to what is best for the individual. Thus one of the most essential comparisons made is usually between those who followed the counselor's advice and those who did not. As early as 1929 Viteles (168) reported a follow-up of 75 out of 91 cases seen in the University of Pennsylvania Guidance Clinic during 1923–24. The numbers of cases in the sub-groups were too small for significance tests, but the trend of the differences suggested that there was more school failure among those who did not follow the advice received than among those who followed it. Non-followers were making higher wages than followers, but this might easily have resulted from their being more likely to enter blind-alley jobs.

In 1935 a series of bulletins was published evaluating the Adjustment Service in New York (184). This was an agency that was in operation during a period of about sixteen months during the depression years of 1933 and 1934. It was an emergency or-

ganization, and the staff consisted of persons with a great diversity of background experience, none of them highly-trained counselors at the beginning. A well-planned in-service training program helped to make good this deficiency, however. Altogether they took care of more than 15,000 clients, most of them unemployed white-collar workers. The most searching of these follow-up studies is the one reported by Seipp (139). Case records on 100 randomly selected clients were studied by two reviewers three months to a year after the completion of counseling. Questionnaires were then sent out, and unusual care was taken to obtain complete returns, only 4 out of the 100 remaining finally unreported. The criteria of adjustment were also carefully defined: (1) whether the client had formulated an objective, (2) whether he had taken steps in accordance with the plan, (3) the extent to which steps taken seemed to mark progress toward the goal, and (4) satisfaction and hopeful outcome. Fifty-seven were rated as satisfactorily adjusted. Whether this is high or not cannot of course be determined in the absence of a control group.

The largest of the evaluation studies of this type, involving almost 700 students counseled at the University of Minnesota during 1933, 1934, 1935, and 1936, was made by Williamson and Bordin. In one report (177) a group of 405 freshman counselees was compared with a control group matched with them for class, age, sex, size and type of high school, high school percentile rank, college aptitude test score, and Coöperative English test score. Ratings on "progress toward adjustment" were made after follow-up interviews by staff members not involved in the original counseling. Significant differences in favor of the counseled group were found for both adjustment and scholarship. The only doubt this study leaves centers around possible motivational differences between the counseled and non-counseled cases, carefully matched as they were for the other variables. In another report (179) the authors attempt to relate rated adjustment of the whole group of

693 students to various factors for which there was evidence in the case records. Some 83 per cent of the arts college students and 86 per cent of the General College students (a lower ability group) were rated as satisfactorily adjusted. This would seem to show that counseling was as effective with lower-ability as with higher-ability students. The degree of coöperation with the counselor, which was also rated, was significantly related to adjustment. There was a higher proportion of adjustment among those who had come with vocational problems than among those whose problems had been of a personal nature. Adjustment was not related to whether or not the counselor confirmed the student's original vocational choice. The material reported having to do with the number of interviews and the time over which the case extended is less clear-cut in its implications. Partially adjusted cases seemed to be highest in number of interviews but lowest in time.

A few less extensive or detailed studies point in the same directions. Webster (173) obtained questionnaire returns from 81 out of 125 clients rather diverse in age and schooling two to five years after counseling. He considered that his judgment had been correct if the follow-up indicated either that a subject had entered a recommended field and found it satisfactory or that he had entered one not recommended and found it unsatisfactory. This method of classification gave him a score of 80 per cent correct predictions for vocational cases, 84 per cent correct for educational. Blackwell (21) compared changes in grade point average for a group of 40 University of Texas counselees and a control group matched with them for ACE level and amount of previous college work. There was a significant difference in points gained between the two groups, but again our inability to be sure that they are motivationally similar leaves some doubt. One interesting report by Lorimer (99) has to do with a follow-up of 397 Columbia College students counseled by Dean Herbert E.

Hawkes. He seems to have used what we would now call a rather directive technique based almost entirely on Strong scores. Results, however, are more impressive than in the other studies. The 87 per cent response after an interval of from two to over nine years is a notable fact in itself. All but 43 of the subjects agreed with the results of the conferences and not one student who followed the advice given expressed dissatisfaction or unhappiness. In spite of its limitations this study does focus our attention on one variable that is largely ignored in the others—the personality of the counselor himself.

Since the close of World War II there have been a number of studies attempting to evaluate Veterans Administration counseling centers here and there. Ward (171) showed that a group of counseled veterans at the University of Oregon averaged slightly higher in subsequent scholarship than a group of matched controls but showed less favorable attitudes toward the whole college situation. Because of the impossibility of matching them for motivational factors in the first place this difference cannot be interpreted. Kirchheimer, Axelrod, and Hickerson (91) compared improvement in grades from one semester to the next for four groups of University of California veterans classified according to whether or not they had received counseling and whether or not they had changed their course of study. The only significant improvement was in the "Counseled-Change" group. In general, counseled groups made more improvement than non-counseled.

Several studies have reported the percentages of groups of veterans still in training for a specified objective six months or more after counseling was completed (25, 35, 97, 98). Of the cases on which they report half or more seem to persist in the pursuit of the objectives chosen, but since there was a high percentage of non-returns in all these studies, and since we lack any baseline against which we can evaluate the figures, it is hard to make much use of them.

In summarizing all of these studies set up to evaluate counseling as a whole, we can say that they *do* furnish evidence that counseling service is appreciated by the recipients and that it seems to be helpful to them. Whatever the criterion used, the results seem to point in the same direction.

If we are willing to accept this evidence that the counseling enterprise as a whole is pointed in the right direction we are then free to scrutinize other reported research for evidence bearing on the validity of different aspects or component parts of the process. The investigation of these problems is not so difficult in some ways as the evaluation of the results as a whole. It is quite possible to design a study in such a way as to compare two different methods. One of the most valuable series of reports in the counseling literature establishes beyond the possibility of any reasonable doubt that vocational guidance making use of tests for the objective analysis of the individual produces better results than are obtained by interview alone. The authors are a number of British psychologists who made careful studies of their procedures during the 1920's and 30's (4, 47, 60, 78, 79, 80, 84, 101, 102, 110, 112, 125, 145, 153, 193). The two largest of these studies involved respectively more than 600 clients of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and more than 1600 school leavers in Birmingham. Similar data on smaller numbers were obtained in Cambridge, Fife, and Glasgow. Since both methods and results were comparable in all of these we shall summarize only the final reports on the largest and most conclusive. [Rodger (125) and Hunt and Smith (80)] The NIIP clients with whom Rodger was concerned were secondary school students aged fifteen to eighteen, predominantly boys, followed up at least two years after counseling was completed. They were divided into two groups according to whether they were still at school or at work, and were classified as to whether what they had done was suitable or unsuitable (consistent or not with the counselor's recommenda-

tions) and as to whether they were successful, unsuccessful, or doubtful. Results were more striking for the workers than for the students, although the direction of the differences was the same for both groups. Those who had gone into fields recommended as suitable showed a much higher proportion of successful adjustment than those who had not. Of the "worker" group, 89 per cent of those in "suitable" occupations were successful as compared with only 43 per cent of those in "unsuitable" occupations. In the Birmingham project summarized by Hunt and Smith (80), subjects were children leaving school at fourteen to go to work. Half of them were given counseling based on test information; the other half had only the regular vocational planning interview which was standard procedure for school-leavers. Some 1600 of them were followed up after a two-year interval and some 600 after a four-year interval. Besides comparing experimental subjects with controls these investigators followed the procedure set up in the NIIP studies and compared those in "accordance" posts with those in "non-accordance" posts. (An "accordance" post is one that is in line with recommendations made by the counselor on the basis of tests or in the absence of tests on the basis of other case data.) A variety of criteria of occupational adjustment were worked out. Results on all criteria and in both the two-year and the four-year groups were consistent. The tested subjects made better adjustment than the controls. *Within* the tested group those who took "accordance" posts were doing better than those who took "non-accordance" posts, but this was not true within the control group. Evidently recommendations made by the counselors who worked without benefit of tests did *not* result in superior placements. Another interesting difference was that subjects in the experimental group who began with non-accordance posts were likely to shift in the direction of accordance posts as time passed, whereas in the control group what shifts there were tended to be *away* from the jobs recommended by the

counselor. Thus we have clear-cut evidence that in spite of their many limitations, vocational tests do add to the effectiveness of vocational counseling.

A supplementary study by Macrae (101) reports that when the same psychological techniques were used to select boys for work parties in Borstals (reformatories), allocations resulted which were successful in 70 per cent of the cases as compared with 45 per cent when the selection was based on housemasters' recommendations. Another early study from a Spanish vocational guidance agency (29) also gives similar results, showing that the success of these methods is not confined to English-speaking countries.

There have been a number of studies which attempted to check up on the effect of interviews alone on scholarship. In general, they suggest that this personal individual attention has some value. While Williamson (174) found that students advised by a faculty counselor did no better than those not advised, Toven (163) and Walthers (169) at the college level and Adams (1), Lund (100), and Newland and Ackley (111) at the high school level reported favorable results. Cowley (37) in an early study reported that the number of freshman athletes remaining eligible was greatly increased by a counseling program, but since his procedure constituted a more intensive effort including tutoring where needed, it is impossible to attribute the results to counseling alone. Ross and Boyd (130) reported a significant difference between the grades of counseled freshmen in the lowest fifth of their class and non-counseled controls of the same ability levels, but since they used group counseling centered around a discussion of entrance test scores, the results may show the value of the self-understanding tests can bring rather than of counseling itself. The most thorough analysis of the effects of counseling on low ability college freshmen was done at the University of Iowa. It was begun in 1925–26 by A. C. Lemon and reported several years

later by Holaday (77) and Freeman and Jones (54). The first results gave the advantage to the counseled group, as compared with their non-counseled controls, both in grades and in persistence in college. The final follow-up, however, showed that only 14 out of the 106 actually graduated from college as compared with 13 of the controls. The grade point average for the graduates in the two groups was almost identical. Since the net effect of counseling for students of this ability level was to get them disqualified late rather than early in their college careers, the authors concluded that it had been unprofitable. The conclusion of course applies to students in the lowest decile on the college aptitude test, not to the whole ability range.

A suggestive study of a somewhat different sort was reported by Sherriffs (143). Thirty-four general psychology students out of a class of 257 were given a personal interview with the instructor after the first mid-term, at which time he rated them on tension and needs for achievement, affection, and praise. The interviewed group made a significantly greater improvement on the second mid-term than did the rest of the class. The differences on the final examination were in the same direction but not so great. The effect of the interview was greatest for students rated highest on tension and the need for affection and praise.

Since the studies evaluating tests plus interviews have been centered around vocational problems and those evaluating interviews alone have been centered around educational problems, they cannot be compared in any direct manner. One report of an attempt to get at the value of the interview in vocational counseling is that of Stone and Simos (152). The subjects were applicants filing at a public employment office, who were counseled in 1941–42. Occupational recommendations were made in the same way for both experimental and control groups, but the former were given a counseling interview, the latter a summary letter. Six months later a questionnaire was sent out to all subjects and

an 80 per cent return obtained. There was little difference between the groups, quite favorable reactions coming from both. The counseled subjects did report that the interview was a help before talking to employers and their rating of the general helpfulness of the service was somewhat higher. This study is of course subject to the general criticism made earlier with regard to the use of client attitude as the only criterion.

If we were required to sum up in a sentence the conclusions from all these investigations of the value of interviews alone in counseling we should probably say that they appear to do some good but not very much. There is some evidence that counselors who are oriented toward diagnosis do not make very much use of the interview for this purpose. Super and Brophy (158) asked counselors to make diagnoses of high school students who had taken a battery of tests. After this they interviewed 40 of the students keeping a verbatim record which could be analyzed to show how much effect the interview had on the original diagnosis. In 77.5 per cent of the cases it simply confirmed the first diagnosis, in 10 per cent clarified it. In the remaining cases where the diagnosis was changed, personality factors were the most frequent cause. Berdie (19) was interested in the consistency of the judgments counselors made from case materials. Twenty case folders were taken from the files and five counselors asked to judge the appropriateness of each vocational choice. There was a high degree of consistency, 81 out of 100 possible judgments agreeing. In 18 of the 20 cases the majority of the five judges agreed with the conclusion of the counselor who had handled the case, and in the 14 instances where one of the judges was evaluating one of his own cases (identifying data had of course been removed from the folder) they all agreed with the original diagnosis. What both these studies show is that an interview is not necessary for the production of a judgment of a client by a counselor. Neither of them show us, however, whether or not

these judgments are sound. We can perhaps fall back on the American reports cited on pages 278 to 281 and the English reports on pages 281 to 283 tell us that judgments made in this way do turn out to have some validity.

A natural conclusion might be that since the judgment based on all available data seems to be related to a client's successful adjustment, and since the interview seems to have little to do with this judgment, that what we have demonstrated is primarily the predictive value of the tests we are using. This leads us to what appears at first to be a paradox because the evidence we have seems to show that vocational tests alone have very little correlation with ultimate success in the fields they are designed to predict. The widely-discussed study by E. L. Thorndike and associates, published in 1934 as *Prediction of Vocational Success* (160) indicated that the only prediction that could be made was with regard to the highest grade that would be reached in school. Intelligence tests, educational achievement tests, and school marks all predicted this criterion fairly well. None of the correlations between scores on vocational tests taken at the age of fourteen and occupational criteria four to eight years later were high enough to be of any practical value, although they were somewhat higher for clerical than for mechanical types of work, and in clerical work somewhat higher at the 20–22 age level than at the 18–20 level. This study was much criticized by vocational guidance workers on various grounds. For this reason it is interesting to note that a recent study by Latham (95), better designed in many ways, points in exactly the same direction. The subjects here were 1600 high school seniors who in 1947 took a battery of twenty-seven aptitude tests. The follow-up was by questionnaire a year after graduation. (The author explains in some detail the steps that were taken to secure maximum returns, but fails to give the figures as to what the percentage replying finally was.) A system

was devised for weighting aptitude test scores in such a way as to give for each job chosen or undertaken by an individual a quantitative index of *job suitability*. This would seem to represent a quantification of the sort of counselor judgments we have been discussing, which could be used in a situation where no counseling occurred. The criteria used here were employer ratings of success on the job and worker satisfaction as expressed in the questionnaire. The most striking finding is that the correlations of both success and satisfaction with job suitability indices is practically zero. There seems to be no evidence whatever that individuals going into work which a counselor would have considered suitable on the basis of test scores get along better than those who go into unsuitable work.

How can we reconcile the two lines of evidence, one showing that when young people follow the recommendations of counselors who base their judgments on vocational aptitude tests they are significantly more likely to achieve success and satisfaction, the other showing that such predictions have no validity? If we try to explain the contradiction by saying that a counselor's "*clinical* prediction" takes into consideration a great many imponderables along with test scores and thus results in greater accuracy, we are reminded of the careful studies by Sarbin (132) and Kelley and Fiske (89) cited at the end of Chapter IV which indicate that the addition of case information of various sorts does *not* result in more accurate prediction. Only one answer seems to fit all the facts. What happens in the complex interaction of counselor and client is not as simple or clear-cut as it appears at first glance to be. The one thing that differentiates the Williamson and Bordin study (p. 278) or the Birmingham study (p. 282) from those of Thorndike (p. 286) and of Latham (p. 286) is whether or not a counseling experience occurred. This may be another place where the whole is more than or quite different from the sum of

its parts. When it seems that a client has simply accepted the recommendation or prognosis the counselor has made, it may well be that he has actually participated in a decision-making experience that is deep and far-reaching. The important thing may not be the accuracy of the counselor's prognosis but the satisfactoriness to himself of the individual's decision. The value of tests would seem to be that they contribute to the self-knowledge underlying these satisfying decisions rather than that they predict what a person will do well some years hence. (An exception to this generalization needs to be made for tests of scholastic aptitude and any occupational criteria that are related to length of schooling. *All* studies show that this *educational* variable can be predicted.)

We should note here also that this conclusion as to the function of tests applies equally well to occupational information according to the report by Stone (151) previously cited. It is only when the facts about jobs have been incorporated into counseling that they lead to more appropriate choices. They too would seem to be effective insofar as they facilitate the decision-making process we have been postulating.

We have gone into considerable detail in analyzing these follow-up studies because of their implications for our thinking about the counseling task as a whole. Some of those implications have been embodied in discussions of recommended procedures in previous chapters. It makes a difference in many things we do if we see our function as one of promoting responsible decision-making rather than one of getting clients into situations or states of mind which we think will promote better adjustment. Another set of implications has to do with the planning of future research. We actually know almost nothing about this decision-making process, but there is no reason why we cannot investigate it. Such an undertaking would call for follow-up studies of a somewhat different type from those carried out heretofore. In place of

seeking information as to what has *become* of each individual we would be more interested in what he has *done* with the circumstances he has encountered.

A survey of follow-up studies would not be complete without mention of the work of Aldrich (2, 3) pointing to the value of social guidance. A group of freshman girls who made low scores on inventories of social adjustment was divided into two equivalent sub-groups. The controls were given only the regular counseling for which they had applied. Girls in the experimental group were given a special interview and personally introduced to activities in which they expressed some interest. Evaluation at the end of the school year indicated that the experimental group had improved significantly more than the controls on both inventory scores and ratings of adjustment and participation. A recheck of activity records several years later after all of the subjects had left college showed that throughout their college careers the experimental group had engaged in a larger number of campus activities, been on more committees, and held more offices. The controls, however, had made slightly better grades and a slightly higher proportion of them were married.

We turn finally to a group of studies having to do with the relative effectiveness of directive and non-directive methods. The attempts to measure the effects of non-directive therapy itself we have already summarized following Chapter VIII, and check-ups on the effectiveness of specific non-directive procedures such as the self-selection of tests have been included in the section on the procedure in question, but there remain a few studies in which direct comparisons were made between cases in which the whole approach differed. Carlson and Vandever (30) divided 46 students into three approximately equal groups labeled directive, non-directive, and control. Six interviews were scheduled with each individual in the two counseled groups and the TAT test, scored according to the Murray system, was given at the begin-

ning and end of the study to evaluate changes. The results showed no differences between the groups in changes on need and press ratings. The study is inconclusive because of doubt as to the adequacy of the counseling either group received and doubt as to the suitability of the TAT test for this purpose. Barahal, Brammer, and Shostrom (13, 14) report what looks like more satisfactory evidence as to the superiority of what they call "client-centered" procedures over those used by the Veterans Administration in vocational counseling. (Since their experimental procedure included an orientation interview and numerous special forms for presenting occupational information and facilitating client thinking about occupations, it is not strictly comparable to methods being used by Rogers and his co-workers.) The investigation was carried out at the time when Stanford University was about to shift over from a Veterans Administration Guidance Center to some form of student service. The subjects were 100 male, non-veteran freshmen, divided into two groups comparable in age, scholastic aptitude, socio-economic status, and previous counseling. For the first four weeks of the study, the control group was processed according to the standard VA procedures. After an interlude of a week during which the three counselors reviewed and practiced the new "client-centered" procedures upon which they had previously decided, the experimental group was counseled using these new procedures. In every case an evaluation interview was recorded the night after counseling. The man who did these interviews was not one of the counselors participating in the study. He rated each person on over-all feeling tone, and the three counselors afterward made ratings from the records on the same variable. They obtained significant differences on this characteristic in favor of the "client-centered" group. Experimental subjects seemed to be more enthusiastic about all aspects of the service—testing, library, attitude of the personnel, counseling, and sureness as to future plans. Unfor-

tunately for the conclusiveness of these results, one crucial point seems to have been ignored. The questions which were asked in the course of the evaluation interview would have indicated beyond a doubt the group to which the subject belonged. Questions 14 and 15 referred specifically to procedures which were not used in the control group (Barahal, 13). Thus the raters who based their judgments on these interview recordings could hardly have avoided a bias growing out of their counseling philosophy and their preference for the procedures they had originated. Forgy (53) did a follow-up study of these same subjects three years later at a time when most of them were graduating from Stanford. Exceptional care to get as complete returns as possible resulted in an 87 per cent response to his questionnaire. Ratings of satisfaction with the counseling based on responses to some general questions did *not* differentiate experimental and control groups, and there was a practically zero correlation between these ratings and those obtained from the evaluation interviews three years before. The one factor that did differentiate significantly between groups on these follow-up ratings was an *interaction* factor between counselors and procedures. What this seemed to show was that one counselor obtained better results with the VA procedures than he did with the experimental procedures whereas the other two showed differences in the other direction. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that all three of them had a strong philosophical loyalty to client-centered ideas. This finding may have important implications for the planning of evaluation studies and for our thinking about counseling methods in general. Different personalities inevitably produce differences in the way in which any specified counseling procedure will be used. Two counselors who are attempting to use the same technique may not be producing at all the same psychological effect.

Thus we must recognize that there has been no crucial demonstration of the superiority of non-directive over directive counsel-

ing or indeed of the superiority of any one general approach over another. Because of personality differences between counselors and between clients a general approach is always going to be difficult if not impossible to standardize. It would seem to be a more fruitful procedure to build our research plans upon narrower hypotheses. By such methods we have already established the value of tests, the usefulness of occupational information. Such checks on the utility of specific parts of our procedure should enable us constantly to improve it. But more than such evaluation of the worth of some technique we need now a clearer understanding of how the counseling process works. A beginning has been made in the University of Chicago research program on the nature of changes occurring during psychotherapy. (See research summary after Chapter VIII.) We should have a similar study of the decision-making that is fundamental to vocational counseling. Meanwhile we must be prepared to accept a considerable diversity of practice and opinion. We know that successful counseling is being done. We also know that there is no one right way to do it.

We shall sum up what these research efforts have taught us under the three main headings outlined at the beginning of the chapter. First we can say that with a few minor exceptions studies in the first group having to do with the service as a whole have rendered a favorable verdict. Measured in terms of client satisfaction or by means of subjective or objective criteria of adjustment, general guidance programs and programs confined more specifically to counseling have demonstrated their usefulness. Secondly, studies evaluating separate parts of the program seem to show that counseling which uses tests for the analysis of an individual's characteristics succeeds better than counseling that leaves tests out. Counselors base consistent judgments on combinations of test scores, and clients who are guided by these judgments achieve more success and satisfaction than those who

repudiate them. Interviews alone tend to produce some improvement in adjustment, at least in school situations. Tests alone do not predict occupational success, except for indicating how much schooling can be assimilated. Thirdly, comparisons of directive and non-directive approaches to the counseling task have been inconclusive and will probably continue to be inconclusive because of the range of individual differences in personalities of counselors and clients.

The conclusions that seem warranted at present are:

1. That the counseling venture as a whole is worth while.
2. That the important concepts in vocational and educational counseling have to do with self-understanding and responsible decision-making rather than with diagnosis, prediction, and treatment of problems.
3. That it is possible for good counseling to occur under quite different circumstances and philosophies. It would be difficult and probably unwise to attempt to impose the same pattern on all.

Appendix A

Date _____ 19____

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER
University of Oregon

Individual Record Form

By answering the questions in this blank you will enable your counselor to learn much that may help in assisting you. If vocational counseling is desired, you will have a preliminary conference during which tests will be selected according to your individual needs, after the test scores are compiled, you and your counselor will together try to fit all the facts into a consistent pattern. It is the intent in all the counseling to assist you in achieving more intelligent and better informed self-direction, rather than to relieve you of the necessity of making your own decisions.

NAME _____ _____ _____ Sex _____
Last First Middle

Present Address _____ Phone _____
Home Address _____
Age _____ Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____
Religious Preference _____

FAMILY: Marital Status: Single — Married — Separated — Divorced — Widowed _____

Indicate all members of your family, including parents, husband or wife, brothers, sisters, and children.

Relationship	Age	Occupation	Marital Status	Years of Education

EDUCATION:

Name of high or preparatory school _____ City _____

Date of Graduation _____

Colleges or special schools attended (including present attendance) and special training in art, music, stenography, etc.

Name of School or College	*Dates*	*Course or Major*	*Average Grade*	*Degree*

Subjects Taken in High School Prep Decile _____ *Subjects taken in College* G.P.A. _____

English
Mathematics
Social Studies
Languages
Others

Indicate the subjects you liked best above with X and least-liked subjects with O. Also mark those in which you made the highest grades with H and lowest with L.

Have you been handicapped in school because you were a slow ( ) or poor ( ) reader? Do you consider that your study habits are (efficient, average, or inefficient) for college achievement? (Underline the best phrase.)

Indicate extra-curricular activities and offices you have held:

In High School	*In College*	*Years of Participation*	*Of much or little value?*

If you expect to attend some other school in the future, name the school, when you will enter, and what course you plan to take: ———

If you are now in school, how many hours of study do you put in during the week (on the average)? ——— Are you engaged in any outside work? ——— If so, what is the work and how much of your time does it take?

While in college, will you be entirely supported by your family? ——— Or will partial or total self-support be necessary? ——— What other aid do you have?

How does your family feel about college work? Opposed? ——— Indifferent? ——— Wants you to go? ———. Comments: ———

WORK EXPERIENCE:

List in chronological order all your work or employment experiences to date, including part-time or summer jobs and service experience (if any).

Employer	From To (Month & Year)	*Nature of Work Performed:*	*Salary* (per month)

In what ways have these work experiences been of most value to you?

PRESENT ACTIVITIES:

What recreational and social activities do you engage in?

To what clubs, organizations, or groups do you belong?

What are your special interests or hobbies?

How well do you like to read? _____ What types of books or articles interest you most? _____

What magazines do you read most frequently? _____

OCCUPATIONAL PLANS:

List the careers which you have considered seriously and those which appeal to you most now:

Occupation	*Reasons for Interest in the Occupation*

What is your present vocational choice? _____ When did you decide? _____ What seem to be the most important reasons for this choice? _____

Does your health or physical condition limit you in planning for a vocation? _____

Are your reasons for coming to the Counseling Center: choice of vocation _____; difficulty with studies _____; difficulty with reading _____; need for personal counseling _____?

Describe more in detail, if you wish, the nature of the problem. If there are other matters you would like to talk over with a counselor, you may mention them here too. _____

Appendix B

BRIEF CASE SUMMARY FOLLOWING VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

February 26, 19—.

The problem is one of high ability in so many fields that the narrowing of choice to one becomes difficult. Taking everything into consideration, interests and personal characteristics as well as abilities, three main avenues seem to be open: (1) law, leading to a political or judicial position, (2) journalism, with an attempt to get into a foreign correspondent's position, and (3) graduate work leading to college teaching. We discussed these thoroughly. The disadvantage of law is its somewhat narrow field of subject-matter, not corresponding to his variety of interests. The disadvantage of journalism is that a person might have to be satisfied with a regular beat of no particular interest for a number of years. The possibilities in the foreign service were also taken up briefly, with the reminder that the higher ones required independent means. The college teaching still appeals to him most favorably. The most attractive majors in his case are history, philosophy, and the new Pacific Basin curriculum. I tended to emphasize the philosophy, in spite of the fact that he had not yet taken any, because of the breadth of its scope. This choice was, however, left indeterminate. I urged him to become familiar with as many fields of human knowledge as possible, particularly that he get some more physical science courses or do some reading on these subjects.

This boy should go far.

BRIEF CASE SUMMARY FOLLOWING VOCATIONAL COUNSELING

May 10, 19—.

I went through the test scores in some detail summing up the sort of picture they gave. We discussed art occupations and nursing. The former she does not consider because she feels that whatever talent for art she showed in junior high school has never been developed. The nursing appeals to her more, but she holds back from as definite a profession as this because of personal reasons. She is engaged to a medical student in Chicago. They are planning to be married when he finishes in about three years. She would like to take what interests her, expanding her outlook and improving her total background without too much emphasis on a degree. We planned tentatively a course which would do that which could easily be shifted to a degree course with a biology major if circumstances warranted. She anticipates some difficulty with her parents. Her mother is understanding, but her father is a practical business man with an exaggerated idea of her talents. She seems clear in her own thinking and summed up for my approval what she will try to tell them. I invited her to come in any time she wished to talk it over some more.

INTERVIEW NOTES. SEVENTH INTERVIEW WITH A PERSONAL COUNSELING CLIENT

October 18, 19—.

Launched immediately into talking about his mother. Constant criticism—always putting him in the wrong whatever he did. Unreliability and exaggeration of things. Moods. Illnesses.

Father should have left her.

Children died because she did not take care of them. Having his teeth pulled instead of filled. Failure to do anything about his blood poisoning.

Money he sent home during navy years, $2,500, foolishly spent. Always trying to get more out of him.

Always in a fog about what people meant. Sayings like "Not if I see

you first," for instance. Same in the Navy, people always saying things that escaped him.

English again. Reference to what Dr. T. had said about his decile not being high enough for graduate work. How bad his English papers are, even for Eng. K. Rejection of my suggestion of the possibility of tutoring.

Work at bakery satisfying in some ways. Gets along well with the girls. Boss has raised him to $1.25 an hour when he threatened to quit. "Scuffling" with girls. Bruises on their arms. One girl especially he is concerned about who has 9 decile—cake decorator for 90¢ an hour. Takes work too seriously.

Determination today to go on—not drop the English course even when I indicated that some satisfying job might be located without college graduation. Plea to go on with the counseling.

Appendix C

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I. Books on Psychological Tests

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II. Books on Non-Directive Psychotherapy

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